

The Global Newspaper  
Edited and Published  
in Paris  
Printed simultaneously in Paris,  
London, Zurich, Hong Kong,  
Singapore, The Hague, Marseille,  
New York, Rome, Tokyo.

No. 33,082

27/89

# HERALD INTERNATIONAL Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

PARIS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 5, 1989

Algeria... 6.00 Dn. Iran... 115 Rials. Czech... 1,000 Fmk.  
Austria... 22 S. Israel... 200 NIS. Portugal... 100 Esc.  
Belgium... 33 B.F. Jordan... 2,000 L.S. Spain... 166 Ptas.  
Cyprus... 2 C. 0.00. Norway... 30 Nkr. Sweden... 100 Kr.  
Denmark... 11.00 Dk. Libya... 1,000 D.D. Switzerland... 100 S.F.  
Egypt... 2 P. 2.50. Luxembourg... 50 L.F. Taiwan... 200 N.T.  
Finland... 8.50 F.M. Macedonia... 100 Den. Turkey... 1,000 L.  
France... 7.50 F. Morocco... 100 Dhs. U.A.E... 2,000 Dir.  
Germany... 2.00 M. Oman... 100 Rials. U.S. (E)... 1.00 \$.  
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ESTABLISHED 1887

## Gorbachev, in France, Pursues Drive for European Support

By James M. Markham  
New York Times Service

PARIS — President Mikhail S. Gorbachev extended his West European diplomatic offensive to France on Tuesday and immediately sought to identify the changes he seeks in the Soviet Union with the legacy of the French Revolution.

As France is poised to celebrate the revolution's 200th anniversary, Mr. Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, made a visit to the Place de la Bastille, the symbolic heart of the upheaval, but he was prevented from making much contact with well-wishers because of a crush of journalists and photographers.

Thousands of onlookers pressed against barricades and some shouted "Gorby! Gorby!" as they had last month in West Germany.

In the evening, at a state dinner at the Elysee Palace held by President Francois Mitterrand, Mr. Gorbachev declared that Soviet citizens felt entitled "to participate with full rights in your festivities" because of the historic links between the French Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

"The spirit of the French Revolution has always been present in the social life of our country," he said, adding that Soviet citizens were better able today to grasp the full meaning of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

"For perestroika is also a revolution," Mr. Gorbachev continued, referring to his program of restructuring politics and economics in the Soviet Union. "I hope it will have a great destiny that will not be limited to a national context."

Mr. Gorbachev underscored the importance of his visit to Paris and to Strasbourg, where he is expected to pronounce a major speech Thursday, by going forward with the three-day trip despite the death in Moscow on Sunday of Andrei A. Gromyko, the long-serving former Soviet foreign minister. Mr. Gromyko will be buried Wednesday.

Coming after his triumphant visit to Bonn last month, the Soviet leader's visit to France is widely seen as an effort to consolidate West European economic and political support for his innovative course at home. At the same time, Mr. Gorbachev's deepening popularity in the West strengthens his delicate domestic position, according to analysts of Soviet affairs.

Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Mitterrand conducted a broad review of the global political situation on Tuesday and, according to their spokesmen, agreed to issue a joint declaration Wednesday on the situation in Lebanon — a particular concern of the French president.

Gennadi I. Gerasimov, spokesman for the Soviet leader, said that the French president had expressed "his faith in the success of perestroika." But Hubert Vedrine, the French president's spokesman, slightly modified this endorsement, saying that Mr. Mitterrand hoped for the success of the changes.

Although the focus of his Paris stay is on political exchanges with Mr. Mitterrand, with whom he will have 10 hours of talks, the Soviet leader will also have an encounter Wednesday with French students and intellectuals at the Sorbonne and hold a joint news conference with the French president.

The Sorbonne encounter, which was requested by Mr. Gorbachev, could have symbolic weight, since French intellectual life has for more than a decade been marked by piercing criticism of the Soviet

Union and of totalitarian systems generally. French intellectuals were highly influenced by Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago," which appeared in the West in 1973 and which is now to be published in the Soviet Union.

The Gorbachev visit, according to French and Soviet officials, will also see the signing of a score of bilateral accords that will cover such matters as the production of French high-definition television sets in the Soviet Union, the training of Soviet business managers and the opening of cultural centers

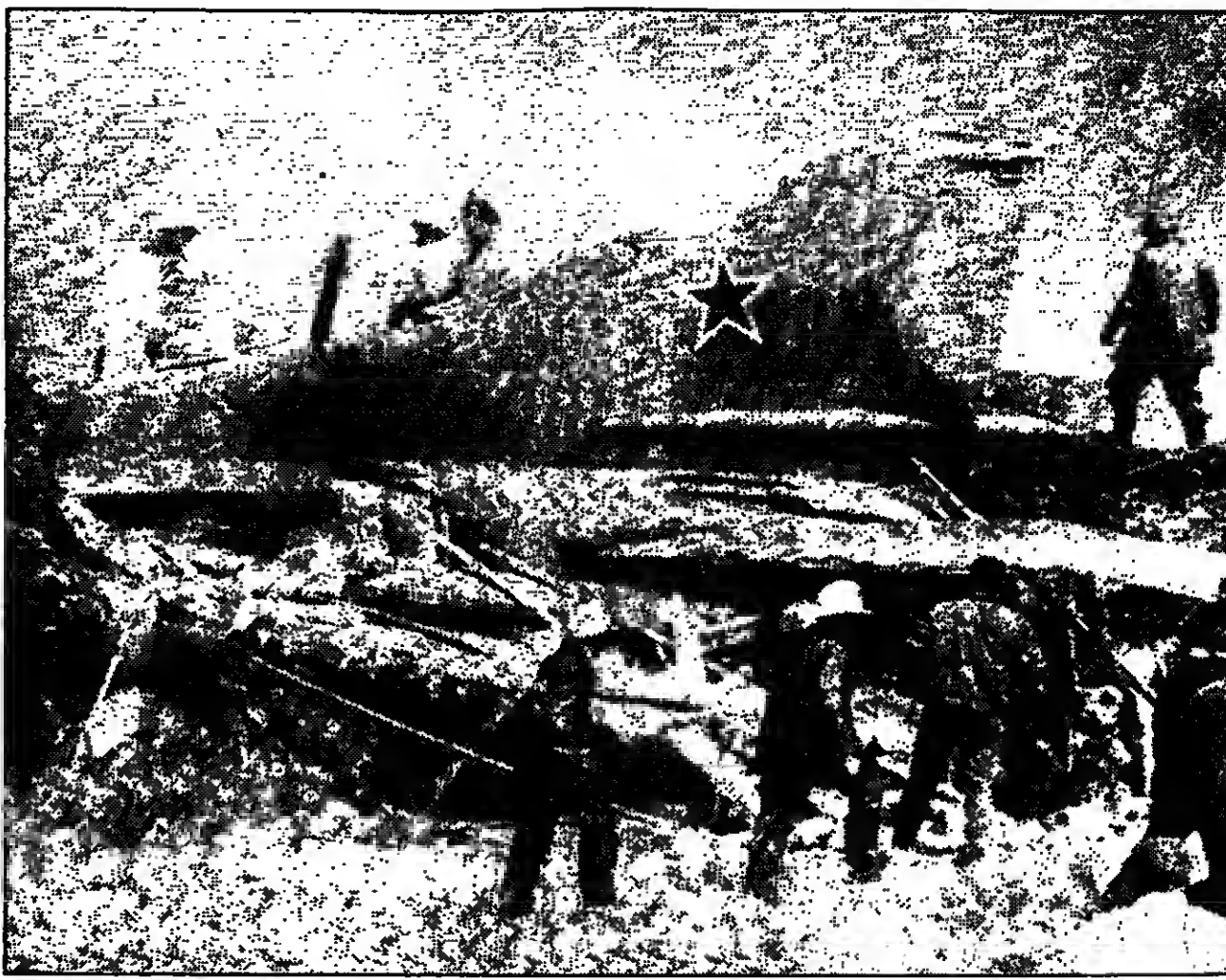
in Moscow and Paris. Mr. Mitterrand and Mr. Gorbachev took time off from their talks Tuesday to look at the high-definition television.

The two sides are also expected to initial an agreement permitting the resumption of contacts between the French and the Soviet military establishments — links that were broken after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. In April, Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement visited the Soviet Union in the first visit by a

See VISIT, Page 2



President Gorbachev gesturing while conferring with President Mitterrand on Tuesday in the gardens of the Elysee Palace.



The tail of a MiG-23 fighter on top of a splintered house in Belleme, Belgium, where it hit and killed an 18-year-old man.

## Soviet Jet Wanders Into West

Minus Its Pilot, MiG Falls After Crossing Europe

By Paul L. Montgomery  
New York Times Service

BRUSSELS — A Soviet MiG-23 fighter plane whose pilot had ejected over Poland flew across part of Western Europe on Tuesday before it crashed into a house near the France-Belgium border, killing a 19-year-old man.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is responsible for defense in the area, said that two U.S. F-15 fighters that scrambled from the Soesterberg base, in the Netherlands, had shadowed the Soviet airplane, which was apparently on automatic pilot, until it crashed.

Guy Coene, the Belgian defense minister, said that when the American fighters saw that the pilotless Soviet jet was not armed with offensive weapons such as nuclear bombs, they let it keep on flying, hoping it would run out of fuel and crash in the English Channel.

According to Tass, the Soviet press agency, the pilot of the wayward MiG was forced to eject from his plane because of "a malfunction of the aircraft's technical system."

Tass said the pilot ejected over Poland and survived, but it gave no further details of the nature of the malfunction.

According to a NATO spokesman, the airplane, when it crossed from East Germany into Western airspace, was traveling at 400 knots (720 kilometers an hour) which made it unlikely that it could have hostile intent at such a slow speed.

The West German Air Force spokesman said it was spotted on the radar when still over Eastern Europe and was picked up definitely at Dannenberg in Lower Saxony, flying at a height of 12 kilometers (38,000 feet).

Reimer Orte, the spokesman for the Second Allied Tactical Air Wing in Muenchen-Gladbach said the pilots of the two American jets must have been surprised to see a "MiG convertible with the top off."

What he meant was that the ejectable canopy over the pilot's seat had already been blown away.

According to the official account the Soviet fighter was first spotted on the radar at 9:42 A.M. West European time and crashed less than an hour later, at 10:37.

In NATO parlance MiG-23s are called Floggers, and that apparently is how the intruder was identified in the ensuing air-defense traffic.

The airplane crashed, apparently out of fuel, in the village of Belleme.

The man who was killed, Wim Delaere, was killed in his home while waiting for his parents to return from shopping.

Tass made this statement: "Today in one of the aviation units of the Northern Troop Group a Soviet military pilot was forced to eject from his MiG-23 while carrying out a training flight over Polish territory because of a malfunction of the aircraft's technical system. The pilot is alive."

"The plane continued its unmanned flight in a westerly direction," Tass said.

See MIG, Page 2

## Kremlin Trade Chief Voted Out of Office

By Esther B. Fein  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The Soviet legislature for the first time rejected a candidate for a ministerial post on Tuesday, demonstrating in another bold precedent the intent of the legislators to be independent and critical.

Vladimir M. Kamensky, a deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission, was voted out of both posts, with one deputy asserting that he did not have "the moral and professional right to occupy this high position."

Mr. Kamensky is the first per-

son to go through the entire nomination and confirmation proceedings and be turned down in the final vote. Last week, parliamentary committees succeeded in blocking the nominations of eight top officials whose candidacies had been approved by the Communist Party. Their names were never put to a vote of the full 542-member assembly.

In that incident, the revamped legislature, or Supreme Soviet, first gave notice that it intended to scrutinize and turn down nominees. Prime Minister Nikolai I. Ryzhkov dropped the nominations of six ministers after they failed to win

the approval of the committees, and two more nominees withdrew on their own.

On Monday, Defense Minister Dmitry T. Yazov faced hostile questioning and criticism by a broad range of deputies, including younger military officers, and was confirmed in his post only after a change in the voting rules was adopted. The new rules allow confirmation by a simple majority of the deputies present rather than more than half of the full membership of the legislature.

Mr. Kamensky was rejected despite strong support from Mr.

Ryzhkov, who, though visibly disappointed, said he would propose a new candidate.

As the man charged with coordinating the activities of all Soviet organizations dealing with foreign economic projects, Mr. Kamensky was an integral and visible figure in the efforts of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev to revitalize the slumping economy by encouraging international investment.

He was a regular member of Mr. Gorbachev's entourage during trips abroad, accompanying the Soviet leader to his summit meeting in

See SOVIET, Page 2

## Rehnquist Court: Divisive Issues Are Back on Center Stage

By Al Kamen  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court, with a strong conservative majority taking command, has ended one of the most tumultuous terms in its history, touching nearly every divisive issue in the nation — from the flag to the death penalty to abortion.

The new majority took issues that had seemed to be on their way to becoming settled matters, such as civil rights or

abortion, and propelled them back to center stage, assuring years of emotional battles in Congress and the state legislatures.

The 1988-89 court term marked the

### NEWS ANALYSIS

true beginning of the Rehnquist court and the year the "Reagan revolution" reached the judicial branch of government.

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, working for the first time with a solid five-member conservative majority, began enacting many of the goals of the Reagan administration.

Abortion rights were restricted, affirmative action was scaled back, the death penalty advanced, mandatory drug testing approved, the power of police and prosecutors was expanded and Warren-era protections for suspects was whittled away.

Justice Rehnquist, a 17-year veteran of the court, was named chief justice by President Ronald Reagan in 1986.

In only three major cases might it be said that Mr. Rehnquist's agenda failed to carry the day — flag burning, "dial-a-porn" and religious displays.

On Tuesday, the day after the court ruled that states may enact laws restricting abortion, anti-abortion forces targeted four states where passage of limits on

abortion was most likely, and began outlining legislative strategies.

Burke Balch, state legislative director for the National Right to Life Committee, said anti-abortion activists planned to take advantage of the doors opened by the recent ruling to initiate restrictive legislation in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Four states are targeted: Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Wisconsin and

See COURT, Page 2

## Exiled Activists Launch New Chinese Movement

By Edward Cody  
Washington Post Service

PARIS — Two escaped leaders of China's pro-democracy movement announced Tuesday that they had formed an international exile organization to continue the fight for liberty in their homeland.

The two, Yan Jiaqi and Wu Kaixi, issued their announcement in Paris, where Chinese sources said they have taken refuge. They called for support from Chinese organizations inside and outside the country and from "people who love freedom around the world."

"We want to devote everything to giving China new structures and installing democracy," Mr. Yan said on French television. "We swear solemnly we will never betray the Chinese martyrs."

[Chinese sources in Beijing said that China had broadened its crackdown on dissent, ordering a recall or halt of publication of books and journals by liberal intellectuals and dissident writers, United Press International reported Tuesday.]

[Chinese security officials, meanwhile, confirmed to visiting Taiwan

reporters that a Taiwan journalist had been arrested and was under investigation for allegedly aiding a fugitive student leader.

[The visiting journalists said they were told Tuesday by an official of the Beijing State Security Bureau of the arrest of Huang Teh-pei, 33, a reporter for the Independent Evening Post in Taipei.]

Mr. Yan, 47, former head of the Institute of Political Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, is among seven Chinese intellectuals wanted by the Chinese government for links to the student democracy movement that was crushed in Beijing on June 4. Before the upheaval, he was said to be an adviser to Zhao Ziyang, the dismissed Communist Party leader, who was known for flexibility toward the democracy movement.

Mr. Wu, 21, headed the Independent Student Union and played a prominent role in the massive pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square that were violently put down by the Chinese Army. He figured on a list of 21

See CHINA, Page 2



BENCHMATES — Lech Walesa, the head of Solidarity, right, and General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, sitting together during the opening of parliament on Tuesday, when elected members of the trade union movement were sworn in. Page 2.

### Kiosk

#### Reagan Taken To a Hospital

WASHINGTON (AP) — Former President Ronald Reagan was hospitalized for observation at a military hospital in Arizona on Tuesday after he fell from his horse while hunting in northern Mexico, the Secret Service and White House officials said. In Kennebunkport, Maine, members of President George Bush's staff said they had been told that Mr. Reagan, 78, suffered no broken bones. He was taken to the base hospital at Fort Huachuca, south of Tucson.

#### Gold Fields Bid

LONDON (Reuters) — Hanson PLC said Tuesday that Consolidated Gold Fields PLC agreed to be acquired by it for \$3.5 billion (\$5.56 billion) in cash and securities. The revised bid was worth \$15.30 per share, up from a \$14.30 cash offer on June 22.

#### General News

The PLO says the U.S. is considering a modest role for Palestinian Americans. Page 3.  
The flag: A banner year for the American "totem." Page 3.  
The Sandinistas resemble a secret society. Page 5.

Crossword Page 5.

## Champs-Elysees Moon Walk: Boogie Band for Bastille Day

By Jeffrey Schmalz  
New York Times Service

TALLAHASSEE, Florida — The Florida A & M University band calls itself the Marching 100, but it isn't. It has 250 members, not 100.

And they don't march. They boogie. The moon walk, the California worm, the funky chicken, the mashed potato, the Alf — these are the steps that move their ranks down the avenue. And on July 14 the avenue will be the Champs-Elysees in Paris.

From among thousands of choices, the Marching 100 of Florida A & M, a predominantly black school of 6,500 students, was the band picked by the French government to represent the United

States in the grand parade marking the bicentennial of the French Revolution.

"They illustrate American music to me, which is to say the best of black music," said the artistic director of the parade, Jean-Paul Gonde.

No John Philip Sousa for this marching band. The March King has given way to the godfather of soul. What Parisians, and by satellite transmission much of the world, will hear on July 14 is the sound of James Brown — "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," "I Feel Good," "Living in America," "Mother Popcorn."

It makes for a surreal mix. One minute the band, in green and orange uniforms, is the epitome of precision: When instruments are held at a 45-

degree angle, marchers' legs are bent accordingly.

The next minute, band members get down, chanting: "Baby! Baby! Bay-BEE! Baby! Baby! Bay-BEE!"

Mr. Gonde asked that the band, whose \$500,000 in expenses is being paid by the French government, restrict its Paris performance to James Brown.

The request was entirely consistent with the group's repertoire. Now and then an "1812 Overture" or a march like "Storm and Sunshine" creeps in, but for the most part the band leans toward pop.

How the Marching 100 came to be regarded as one of the best U.S. bands in terms of both music and drill routine is the story of its director of 44 years, Dr.

William P. Foster, who is known to his charges as The Law.

It was he who built the band up from 45 members; he called it the Marching 100 because he dreamed of reaching that number one day. And it was he who broke out of the traditional mold of marching music while at the same time demanding musical excellence.

The resulting group is a superstar. Among the first to cast off the traditional routines, it is perhaps the most imitated of marching bands.

It has played at the Super Bowl, starred in commercials, recorded albums, been the subject of a television profile and captured just about every major band competition.

"There's a psychology to running a

band," Mr. Foster said. "People want to hear the songs they hear on the radio. It gives them an immediate relationship with you. And then there's the energy. Lots of energy in playing and marching. Dazzle them with it; energy."

More than 500 high school seniors from throughout the United States audition for spots in the band each year but only 85 to 100 are accepted.

Just as other schools offer scholarships to top athletes, Florida A & M offers them to top musicians as well, drawing on money raised by the band's performances.

Many Marching 100 alumni go on to become professional performers, band

See BAND, Page 2

## Shamir Plan For Election Faces Revolt

By Joel Brinkley  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is likely to face a brutal political battle on Wednesday that could endanger not only Israel's plan for Palestinian elections but also his own standing as the nation's leader.

Although the election plan has cabinet and parliamentary approval, Mr. Shamir's own party, the Likud, is in open, angry revolt over the proposal.

Mr. Shamir's opponents, led by Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon, have convened a meeting of the Likud's central committee for Wednesday evening, during which they will try to attach riders to the initiative that many here believe are designed to kill it.

While many Likud opponents contend that they are simply trying to improve the plan, Mr. Sharon does not try to hide his intentions.

"I will try to bring about a decision that would erase the entire program, because it's the most dangerous of all the plans the government has ever formulated in the last 40 years," he said Tuesday.

In theory, Mr. Sharon and the other opponents — Deputy Prime Minister David Levy and Economics Minister Yitzhak Mordechai — lead party factions large enough, when

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# Solidarity's Elected Members Are Sworn Into Parliament

By Henry Kamm

WARSAW — Solidarity, outlawed for eight years until last April, jubilantly entered parliament Tuesday as the first freely elected opposition party to do so in a Communist country.

As the lower house opened its session at noon, Lech Walesa, leader of the independent trade union, sat in the place of honor of Poland's newest political institution: the opposition front bench.

Across the semicircle of 460 tiered seats, on the Communist front bench, sat General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the party leader who imposed martial law to crush the movement Mr. Walesa founded and jailed him and his colleagues.

The two ignored each other during nearly three hours of opening procedures. Stolid and unsmiling, the general barely spoke to those around him; occasionally he applauded politely. His Nobel prize-winning adversary, enjoying every moment, conversed animatedly throughout the formalities with Solidarity's parliamentary leader, Bronislaw Geremek. From time to time Mr. Walesa joked with those behind him.

But in the afternoon, when the newly created Senate assembled, General Jaruzelski and Mr. Walesa sat together as guests of honor, smiling and chatting for a moment before proceedings began.

The Senate offered no Communist bench to accommodate Gen-

eral Jaruzelski, because Solidarity swept 99 of 100 contests in June's general elections, in which neither he nor Mr. Walesa ran.

Many who did — among them Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, Defense Minister Florian Swicki, Alfred Miodowicz, the official trade-union chief, and several other Politburo members — watched from the visitors' gallery.

In the landslide, the union movement won, in addition to 99 Senate seats, all 161 seats in the lower house it was allowed to contest under the "roundtable" agreement reached with the Communist Party in April.

More than half the voters also crossed out 34 of the 35 imposed

candidates on the "national list," denying them simple majorities required for election.

Elevated to the status of opposition deputies were such prominent former political prisoners as Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Mr. Geremek.

In the Senate, Solidarity leaders honored by the presence of their former jailers as they were sworn in included Bogdan Lis, Karol Modzelewski and Jan Jozef Lipiski. Andrzej Wajda, the film and stage director, also took the oath of office.

In a session devoted to such formalities as the election of officers, the two most combative Solidarity leaders served notice that they

would remain pugnacious in their new positions.

Mr. Michnik, who took his oath in jeans and an open-necked shirt, challenged the lower house Communist majority when it presented only one candidate for the post of marshal, the officer who presides over sessions.

"Let's have elections here and not just voting," Mr. Michnik said in his first appearance at the speaker's rostrum. His demand was ignored and the single nominee, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, was chosen.

Although the roundtable agreement generally safeguards Communist control until fully free elections in 1993, the Senate will exercise a right of veto over the decisions of the lower house.

It can be overridden by two-thirds, or 306 votes, of the 460-member chamber. The Communists and their coalition partners held 299 seats.

While the new legislature has been installed, doubt persists over the first major act it has to perform, the election by both houses of a new, more powerful president. General Jaruzelski asked last week that General Kiszczak be elected as his successor. The Communist Central Committee urged General Jaruzelski to reconsider.

## ■ Jaruzelski Undecided

General Jaruzelski said Tuesday that he had not yet decided whether to run for president. Reuters reported from Warsaw.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Colombia Drug Area Governor Slain

MEDELLIN, Colombia (AP) — A remote-controlled bomb exploded here Tuesday, killing the governor of Antioquia Province, who has been an outspoken critic of Colombian drug cartels, and at least four other persons, the police said.

Witnesses reported seeing the remains of at least eight persons. The police said the four other known victims were three of Governor Antonio Roldan Betancur's bodyguards in his car and the driver of another car. "Governor Roldan Betancur's car was reduced to a heap of smoking, twisted, metal," a police officer said.

### ASEAN Dubious on Cambodia Talks

BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, Brunei (AP) — Foreign Ministers of the Association of South East Asian Nations ended a two-day summit meeting here Tuesday and emphasized in a final communiqué the need for "a comprehensive political settlement" in the Cambodian conflict.

A working paper on the forthcoming International Conference on Cambodia in Paris expressed "serious misgivings" about its possible outcome and urged that any decisions be taken by unanimous vote rather than by consensus.

This means in effect that ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, has rejected the possibility that the Paris conference be restricted to achieving a partial solution on Cambodia with talks limited to finding an International Control Mechanism to monitor Vietnam's pullout.

### Soviet Submarine Radiation Found

OSLO (AP) — A Soviet nuclear submarine that caught fire last week off Norway leaked small amounts of radiation that indicate that its reactor came close to a meltdown, Norwegian scientists said Tuesday.

They said traces of radioactive iodine 131 were found in a water sample taken two days after the June 26 fire aboard the Echo II class vessel (20 kilometers (70 miles) off Norway's northern coast. A spokesman said the material was diluted by seawater was expected to disappear quickly. All other air and water tests showed no radiation, he said.

Initially, Moscow dismissed the possibility of radiation leaks from the damaged vessel and said none of the crew had been injured. But the Soviet press agency Tass said Monday that four sailors were hospitalized for treatment or radiation injuries and 15 were undergoing "preventative medical tests."

### African-American Priest Suspended

WASHINGTON (AP) — Cardinal James A. Hickey has suspended the black priest who established an unauthorized African-American Catholic congregation, a spokesman for the Washington archdiocese said Tuesday.

The Reverend George A. Stallings Jr. was notified by registered letter of Archbishop Hickey's decision. Father Stallings is forbidden to preach, celebrate Mass or administer the sacraments.

Father Stallings, in defiance of authorities, celebrated a ceremony Sunday at his Inman Temple, in the chapel of a Washington law school. He said he formed the congregation because the Catholic Church was not responsive to the cultural and spiritual needs of black parishioners. The ceremony was attended by about 500 people and included traditional prayers and liturgy, along with elements borrowed from African and Southern black revival traditions. Black representatives of other faiths, including Baptists and Muslims, attended to show support.

### Palme Defendant Refuses Questions

STOCKHOLM (AP) — The man accused of killing Prime Minister Olof Palme refused to answer further questions in court Tuesday, accusing the prosecutors of unfairness trying to convict him.

"It does not matter what questions you ask, so I will not answer your questions," said the defendant, Carl Gustav Christer Petersson, 42.

Mr. Petersson has denied killing Mr. Palme, a four-term prime minister who dominated Swedish politics for more than a decade until he was shot to death on Feb. 28, 1986.

### Howe Asks Assurances From China

HONG KONG (AP) — Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe of Britain said Tuesday that China would have to take a series of actions to restore Hong Kong's confidence after the brutal crackdown on the pro-democracy movement in Beijing.

Conceding a three-day fact-finding visit, he also urged the United States and other nations to refrain from punishing China with further economic sanctions, which he said would damage Hong Kong.

Britain has refused to consider offering refuge to the 3.7 million citizens of Hong Kong, who are scheduled to fall under Chinese rule in 1997. Political activists said Tuesday that meetings with the foreign secretary achieved nothing.

### Bomb Kills 10 in Peshawar Market

PESHAWAR, Pakistan (UPI) — At least 10 persons were killed and 22 injured Tuesday when a bomb exploded on a bus passing through a crowded market here, officials said.

Officials would not speculate on who may have been responsible, but other bomb blasts in the city in recent years have been attributed to agents of the Communist government in Afghanistan who seek to punish Pakistan for its support for Afghan rebels. Peshawar is located a few miles from the Afghan frontier and is home to leaders of the Afghan resistance and thousands of refugees from the civil war.

The explosion occurred as Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was starting a diplomatic campaign for a negotiated settlement to the Afghanistan conflict.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Plan May Ease Europe Flight Delays

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — West European experts on Tuesday completed work on a scheme to ease air traffic congestion. The phased \$60 million project will be completed by 1993.

The Eurocontrol organization, which groups 11 nations, said it had formally agreed to set up a flow management unit to coordinate air traffic for 22 nations. "Aircraft operators and consequently passengers will benefit from a centralized and more efficient flow management by receiving data on flow management measures and route utilization," the Brussels-based body said.

In the first stage, five national air traffic centers will confer daily on traffic problems, officials said. By the beginning of next year, computers should enable operators to improve planning to avoid saturated airspace. The plan falls short, however, of a common traffic control system recommended by airlines and others.

In Italy, heavy rain, and even snow in the mountains, have ground tourists seeking the sun over the past three days. After 48 hours of rain in the north, flood alerts were issued Tuesday in the Adige and Gardena valleys. Landslides blocked several roads. Rome was hit by heavy rains. (Reuters)

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW			HIGH	LOW	
Algeria	24	18	20	68	80	72	78
Amsterdam	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Athens	28	22	20	72	84	76	80
Berlin	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Bombay	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Buenos Aires	28	22	20	72	84	76	80
Calcutta	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Cairo	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Cardiff	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Chennai	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Cebu	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Dhaka	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Dublin	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Edinburgh	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Hankow	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Hong Kong	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Kobe	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
London	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Los Angeles	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Lyons	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Manila	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Medan	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Moscow	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Mumbai	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Nairobi	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Paris	22	16	20	68	80	72	78
Peking	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Rangoon	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Rio de Janeiro	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Singapore	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Sourabaya	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Taipei	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Tokyo	32	26	24	84	92	84	88
Yokohama	32	26	24	84	92	84	88

WEDNESDAY'S FORECAST — CHENNAI: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. COCHIN: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. DELHI: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. GUANGZHOU: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. HONG KONG: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. KUALA LUMPUR: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. MANILA: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. MUMBAI: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. NAGASAKI: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. Peking: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. Rangoon: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. Seoul: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. Singapore: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. Taipei: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. Tokyo: Mostly cloudy; 24-32. Yokohama: Mostly cloudy; 24-32.

## Muslims in Beirut Open Divided City's Crossings

By Ihsan A. Hijazi

New York Times Service

BEIRUT — Syrian troops and their Lebanese Muslim militia allies reopened crossing points with Christian areas on Tuesday after a four-month closing, but tightened a sea blockade to prevent weapons from reaching Christian forces.

A promise to reopen Beirut's airport, situated in a Muslim part of the city, was delayed because of what was described as technical and political difficulties.

Announcing the decision to open the crossings, Nabih Berri, leader of the Shiite Amal militia, said it was a goodwill gesture to an Arab committee seeking to end Lebanon's 14 years of civil war.

Making the announcement in Damascus after talks with Syrian officials and heads of other Lebanese militia groups, Mr. Berri said all crossings linking the Christian enclave with Muslim areas would be reopened at noon Tuesday, along with the airport.

But he declared that the blockade of Christian seaports would continue to stop arms from reaching the mainly Christian forces of Major General Michel Aoun.

He said ending the sea blockade would depend on General Aoun's suspending the Christian embargo against harbors operated by Muslim militias and allowing a team of Arab observers to inspect all outlets on the coastline to ensure that weapons were not reaching the warring factions.

Lakhdar Ibrahim, assistant secretary-general of the 22-member Arab League, is expected in Beirut in a day or two to hold talks on the formation of a body to establish a durable cease-fire and deploy observers at seaports.

Mr. Ibrahim traveled to Damascus and Baghdad last weekend with the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Morocco. The ministers have been delegated to enlist Syrian and Iraqi cooperation in easing tensions in Lebanon.

An Arab summit conference chose King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, King Hassan II of Morocco and President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria to bring peace to Lebanon.

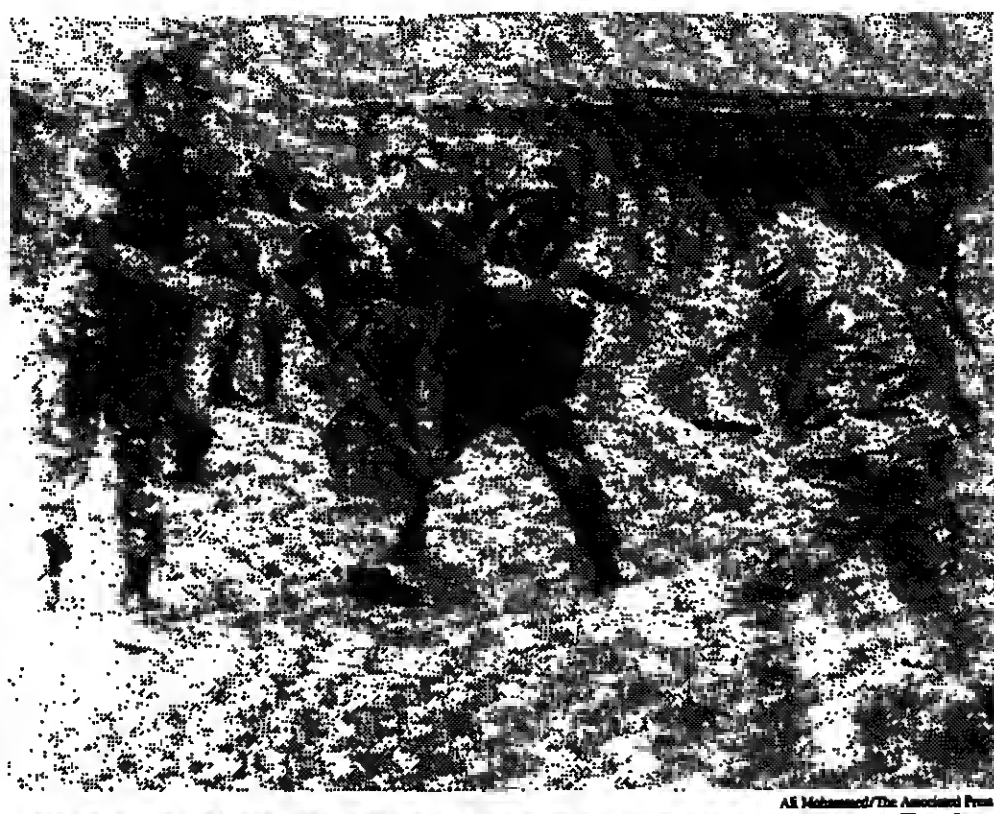
A Syrian-Iraqi feud is complicating the situation. Syria, with 40,000 soldiers controlling two-thirds of Lebanon, has said it is determined to stop Iraq from sending weapons to General Aoun's 15,000-man army. The general has vowed to drive out the Syrians.

Last March, he imposed a blockade against seaports south of Beirut run by Muslim militias. The militia and their Syrian backers retaliated by cutting off all land links with the Christian enclave and kept Christian harbors under attack.

The confrontation soon escalated into artillery bombardment that killed 380 people and wounded 1,500, prompting the Arab League's peace mission.

General Aoun was unimpressed by the Muslim reopening of the crossings. He summoned the ambassadors of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council Tuesday and complained that the Syrian Navy had been intercepting ships in Lebanese territorial waters. He also protested to the United Nations and the Arab League.

The general, who heads a cabinet of Christian army officers vying for power with the Muslims, warned that the Syrian action would have serious consequences.



Lebanese soldiers removing barricades between Christian and Muslim sectors in Beirut on Tuesday.

## ISRAEL: Shamir Faces Battle on Palestinian Voting

(Continued from Page 1)

combined, to outvote Mr. Shamir and his followers.

Several weeks ago, Mr. Shamir said he would resign if that were to occur.

"I cannot continue in my job if I don't feel that the movement I represent in the government supports me and stands behind me," he said in May. He has not repeated the pledge since, but his aides say he has not retracted it either, publicly or in private.

Few people expect the committee members to vote strictly by bloc, and Mr. Shamir's staff was predicting a narrow victory, say, only about 55 percent of his party supports him, Mr. Shamir's aides and others conceded that his political initiative would be in trouble.

"A showdown is divisive, and even if you win there can be bad blood," Avi Pessier, Mr. Shamir's media advisor, said Tuesday.

On Tuesday night, Ehud Olmert, one of Mr. Shamir's closest political advisers, told Israeli radio that he was afraid the prime minister would lose the vote.

Another senior aide said, "This program is already a long shot, and we need our own party against us, too."

The plan, first suggested by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and

formally proposed by Mr. Shamir in March, would allow Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to elect representatives who would conduct peace talks with Israel. The United States openly supports the proposal and is pushing it as the only active Middle East peace initiative.

An opinion poll published Tuesday in the daily newspaper Maariv surveyed 1,184 Jewish adults during the past two weeks and found that 60 percent approve of the election proposal while 40 percent oppose it. But among rightist voters, only 45 are in favor while 55 percent oppose it.

Paradoxically, the poll shows that many believed: Mr. Shamir's strongest support comes from members of the Labor Party and the political left, the same situation Prime Minister Menachem Begin found himself in when he was negotiating the Camp David agreements 10 years ago. At that time, Mr. Shamir was against Mr. Begin.

It is another paradox that, while many U.S. Jews and others believe that Mr. Shamir does not really believe in his initiative, and is moving it only because of international pressure, his Likud colleagues believe he is deadly serious, as he and his aides have maintained.

Likud opponents want to add

four amendments: that no elections will be held until Israel ends the Palestinian uprising, that Arab residents of East Jerusalem will not be allowed to vote, that territorial compromise will not be considered and that settlements will continue to be built in the West Bank and Gaza.

Mr. Shamir agrees with all of those points and says he will negotiate accordingly, if given the opportunity. But the plan itself contains no precedents. Mr. Shamir and most of the others involved believe that the Palestinians will never agree to enter negotiations with official conditions like these.

Mr. Shamir is to address the party conference first Wednesday night and is expected to warmly endorse the goals of his opponents while also asking them not to try to attach them to the government plan. The Likud central committee actually has no power to attach anything to the plan, but if opponents win the vote it will be hard for Mr. Shamir to refuse them.

## 6 Louisville Children Killed

The Associated Press

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky — A fire early Tuesday killed six young cousins left alone here in a house, fire officials said.

## VISIT: Gorbachev Has Paris Talks

(Continued from Page 1)

French defense minister in 12 years.

Since Mr. Gorbachev's first visit to Paris in October 1985, relations between the two countries have steadily warmed. After his election in 1981, Mr. Mitterrand made vigilance the hallmark of his attitude toward Moscow, but, lately, he has become much more receptive to Soviet disarmament initiatives.

Opinion polls suggest that Mr. Gorbachev is extremely well-liked in France, where two out of three asked have a positive opinion of him, but the same polls suggest that the French are much more skeptical

than West Germans about his chances of success. Writing recently in Le Monde, Michel Temu observed that the French were Gorbachev, not Gorbomaniacs like the West Germans.

France lags behind other West European countries, notably West Germany and Italy, in doing business with the Soviet Union, and the trade balance is heavily in Moscow's favor because of energy imports from the Soviet Union.

French businessmen hope that the Gorbachev visit will give a fillip to new contracts, including an oil exploration accord for Elf Aquitaine near the Caspian Sea.

## SOVIET: Official Rejected

(Continued from Page 1)

the United States and on his recent visit to Britain.

His defeat was viewed as somewhat of a rebuke for Mr. Gorbachev, who promoted him to the job and presumably supported his nomination. Mr. Gorbachev, who began a visit to France on Tuesday, was out present during the vote.

The Supreme Soviet first voted on Mr. Kamensky last week, after a debate in which he was accused of squandering the country's raw materials and natural assets in foreign sales during his two-year tenure directing Soviet foreign trade.

In the earlier vote, with many deputies absent, Mr. Kamensky failed to win a majority of the Supreme Soviet membership, thus forcing the new ballot. On Tuesday, he received just 200 votes from the 419 deputies who cast their ballots at the session, with 172 members voting against him, 47 abstaining and 19 of those present choosing not to vote at all.

Had the new rule been in place last week, Mr. Kamensky would have had sufficient support of those present to be kept in office.

## ■ Uzbekistan Curfew Eased

The Soviet authorities have lifted curfew restrictions in much of the republic of Uzbekistan, where ethnic violence killed at least 99 people last month, Reuters reported from Moscow on Tuesday, quoting the official Tass news agency.

Tass said the curfew was abolished in most of the region's settlements and shortened by an hour in the towns of Fergana, Margilan, Kokand and Kuvayir, where Uzbeks attacked Meskhetians, a Turkish ethnic minority, in 10 days of clashes last month.

The commander of troops sent in to restore order said that the forces would be withdrawn and the curfew lifted completely only when all those involved had been detained.

## MIG: Soviet Jet Wanders Into West

(Continued from Page 1)

tioo and fell on Belgian territory. The Soviet side is in the process of contacting the states through whose airspace the plane flew.

The incident came at an awkward time in the East-West debate over disarmament because the Soviet fighter was capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact have said separately that nuclear weapons are necessary for the defense of their territories, while environmental activists and peace movements have expressed worry about accidents.

President Mikhail S. Gorbachev is visiting France, and President George Bush will begin a tour of Poland, Hungary, France and the Netherlands this week.

The airplane involved in the incident was one of the series of MiG-23 models first introduced in 1967.

There are more than a dozen models, but in general they have a top speed of Mach 1.2 (1,472 kilometers an hour), a cruising altitude of 11,000 meters and a range of 850 kilometers with its four air-to-air

missiles, and 1,126 kilometers with an additional fuel tank.

About 150 people were evacuated from homes near the crash site because of the risk of more explosions after the initial blast when it crashed. Also, it was unclear whether the MiG might be armed with toxic chemicals, Olivier Vanostee, the Belgian regional governor, said to reporters.

## Exodus of Soviet Jews Exceeds Total of 1988

The Associated Press

GENEVA — Nearly 4,000 Jews left the Soviet Union last month, an increase that already makes the exodus this year bigger than in all of 1988, a resettlement agency said here Tuesday.

A total of 20,162 Soviet Jews has emigrated this year, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration said. Most are bound for the United States. That figure compares with a 1988 total of 20,082, the highest since 1980.

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## PLO Sees U.S. Shift On Talks

### It Cites Progress Of 'Outsider' Role

By Jonathan C. Randal  
Washington Post Service

TUNIS — The United States is seriously considering a proposal by the Palestine Liberation Organization that prominent Palestinian Americans take part in negotiations with Israel on holding elections in occupied territories, according to PLO officials here.

The proposal was introduced during a June 8 meeting of U.S. and PLO representatives and made public 10 days later by the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat. It has been discussed in greater detail by Robert H. Pelletreau, the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia.

Inclusion of Palestinian Americans in a delegation would be a compromise on Washington's suggestion that the PLO authorize Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to negotiate with Israel.

The compromise proposal is certain to raise strenuous objections from Israel, according to diplomats, analysts and Palestinian officials.

They predicted that Israel would object to the presence of any "outsider" Palestinians, contending that this would in effect legitimize a PLO demand for a role in negotiations. Israel has long opposed any negotiating role for the PLO, which it regards as a terrorist organization.

Possible Palestinian Americans for a role in negotiations, Mr. Arafat has said in an interview with the Financial Times of London, are Edward Said, professor of comparative literature at Columbia University in New York City, and Ibrahim Abu Lughod, professor of political science at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

Last year, before the United States and the PLO agreed to resume talks, ending a 13-year interruption, both professors conferred with George P. Shultz, then the U.S. secretary of state.

The U.S. Embassy in Tunis has declined to give any clue to Washington's reaction to the Palestinian negotiating proposal.

PLO officials have said that the United States indicated a response could be expected after a meeting in Israel on Wednesday of the Likud bloc's Central Committee. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's proposal for the election of a local Palestinian leadership in the occupied territories is expected to face a serious challenge from Ariel Sharon and other rivals in the rightist bloc.

The mere fact that the Bush administration is examining the PLO proposal on elections is seen in Tunis as reflecting an attitude in Washington that the growing violence in the Israeli-occupied territories might require an increasingly forceful U.S. policy.

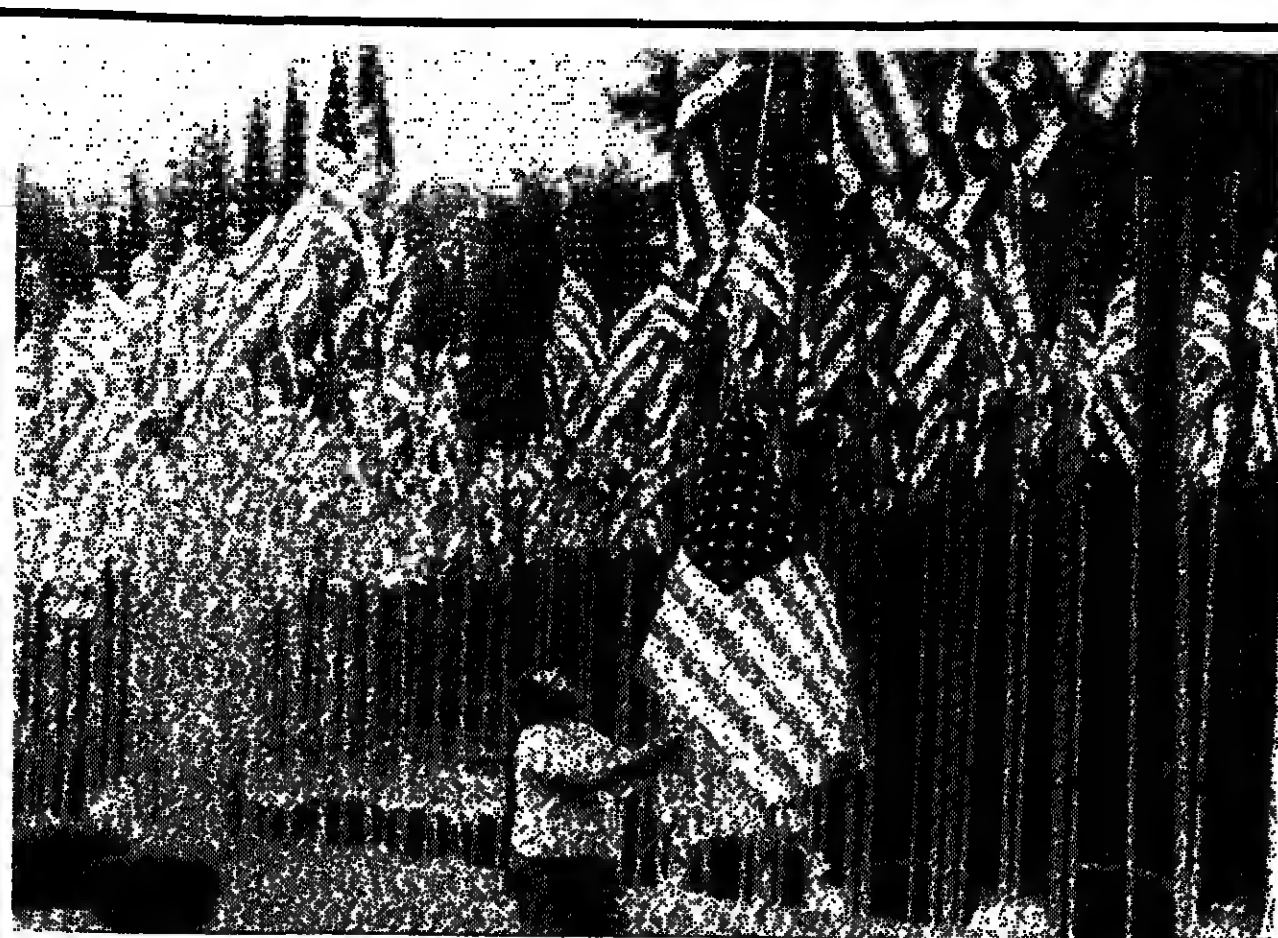
A speech last month by Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, which was critical of both Israel and the PLO, has been interpreted as a move away from a more passive Bush administration attitude toward the Palestinian uprising.

PLO officials have expressed doubt that the Bush administration would risk alienating Israel and its powerful friends in Congress by openly favoring inclusion of Palestinian Americans, and thus challenging the Shamir government's refusal to deal with the PLO.

At the same time, there have been reports that the Bush administration may be on the verge of abandoning efforts for election negotiations in favor of more direct contacts.

Such an outcome would please the PLO. In response to a U.S. recommendation, the PLO has not rebuffed the Shamir election plan.

But it has criticized it as another Israeli subterfuge dressed up as a peace offer, designed to end the uprising in the occupied lands and to split the PLO from leaders in the occupied lands.



A park in Hermitage, Pennsylvania, flew 444 flags on July 4, one for each day that Iran held 52 U.S. hostages, freed Jan. 20, 1981.

## Banner Year for Raised Consciousness

By Stanley Meisler  
Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — The 19th century essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson marveled at the symbolic power of a national flag.

You take a star or a crescent or a lily or "other figure which came into credit God knows how" and put it on "an old rag of bunting," he once wrote. You let it blow "in the wind on a fort at the ends of the earth." The sight makes "the blood tingle" of even "the rudest or the most conventional" citizen. The people, he concluded, "are all poets and mystics."

Poetry and mysticism help explain, this Fourth of July, the feverish debate that has embroiled the United States over the Supreme Court decision to permit flag-burning as an expression of protest. President George Bush has joined the fray, endorsing a constitutional amendment to overturn that decision.

To David I. Kertzer, an anthropologist who specializes in the use of ritual in politics, the upsurge underlines Old Glory's role as "a totem," as "the holy icon of the American civil religion."

Thus politicians of both parties — and Mr. Bush's proposed amendment — use "desecration" to describe the burning of a flag. It is a religious word that means the defilement of something sacred.

Such veneration has a long tradition in the United States. As Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist pointed out in his emotional dissent from the court's June 21 decision, the Washington lawyer Francis Scott Key wrote his poem "The Star-Spangled Banner" during the War of 1812 after watching British warships in Baltimore's harbor sail through the night to force Fort Mifflin to lower its flag and surrender.

But historians say the veneration has become more intense — certainly more codified into law — since the turn of the century and especially after World War I.

The flag has always been important to Americans, says Michael Kazin of American University. "But the creation of a lot of the rituals that we associate with the veneration of the flag came from that period. The Star-Spangled Banner was not made the official national anthem until 1931."

Mr. Kazin and other historians attribute the rising consciousness of that era to widespread uneasiness at the waves of non-English-speaking immigrants entering the country and to a fear of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Until the American and French revolutions, most peoples did not care much about their flags; banners around the world served mainly to identify armies in battle or royal families in power.

But the two bloody upheavals in the late 18th century spawned flags that would symbolize and inspire new nations. The stars and stripes — designed in 1777 but probably not by Betsy Ross — and the blue, white and red tricolor put together a few days after the storming of the Bastille in 1789 are still among the most venerated flags on earth.

Two centuries later, nations and their flags have become inseparable. "With a flag, one can do anything," wrote Theodor Herzl, the Austrian journalist who founded modern Zionism, "even lead a people into the promised land."

Most peoples pay substantial homage to their flags, and a good number live in societies where the flag is protected by law from mutilation.

The British and Japanese flags enjoy no such protection, and even the French may burn the tricolor with impunity. It is illegal in France to destroy, mutilate, degrade or pull down a flag put up by the government, but no one has been prosecuted under that law since 1822.

Probably the only country to rival the United States and France in flag veneration is the Soviet Union. Intentional destruction of the Soviet flag is punishable by up to two years in jail, or a year's enforced labor or a fine of not more than the equivalent of \$75.

"When I see our flag rippling in the breeze, my heart fills with pride," a middle-aged woman with an advanced degree in physics said in Moscow recently. "It's so automatic that even when I see the flag flying from a building where it always flies, I feel that way."

That much, at least, the United States and the Soviet Union have in common. Even the Supreme Court, in its recent decision, did not dispute the powerful national symbolism of the flag. Instead, it decided that the freedom of speech guaranteed in the Bill of Rights gave dissidents the right to burn it as an expression of protest.

Throughout the rest of the world, the very document cited by the Supreme Court as protecting the right to burn the flag is itself recognized as a symbol of U.S. democracy. "What sets us apart from others is the Bill of Rights: The state can't tell us what to do," said Mr. Kertzer, who teaches at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine.

"But the Bill of Rights is not really as powerful a symbol as the flag on the popular level," he said. "It does not have nearly the sacred status. It is too complex — it does not have a visual effect like the flag. And you can't take it into battle."

In 1916, a year before the United States entered World War I, President Woodrow Wilson signed a proclamation making June 14 a day of national observance of the flag. In 1949, four years after the end of World War II, Harry Truman signed a law making Flag Day a national holiday, but it is still not a legal one that gives federal workers a day off.

The tensions of World War II demanded continual shows of patriotism. In 1942, Congress enacted into law the American Legion's Flag Code, which laid down the rules for proper display of and respect for the flag. In case the flag was too damaged to use again, the code stated, it "should be destroyed in a dignified way, preferably by burning." That remains federal law.

The Vietnam War generated flag-burning protests that moved Congress to enact the Federal Flag Desecration Statute in 1967. The chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, L. Mendel Rivers, said that burning had "caused my mail to increase 100 percent from the boys in Vietnam, writing and asking me what is going on in America."

Various states, following the federal example, enacted anti-burning laws of their own. It was the Texas version of the law that the Supreme Court struck down in its June 21 decision.

## Time Report Discounts Bugging of Moscow Site

By Howard Kurtz  
Washington Post Service

NEW YORK — Time magazine, in an unusual journalistic debunking, has published a long account saying that the Soviets never successfully penetrated communications at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, thus challenging the findings of a book that Time excerpted as its cover story four months ago.

Citing more than 60 interviews with officials and "a highly classified intelligence community assessment," Time said in its latest issue that U.S. investigators had concluded that "there was no evidence of a devastating communications breach in Moscow."

In "Moscow Station," excerpted in the magazine's Feb. 20 issue, the author, Ronald Kessler, asserted that the U.S. government had covered up evidence that the Soviets bugged the U.S. Embassy.

Mr. Kessler's book said that the National Security Agency, an agency of the Defense Department, had found Soviet eavesdropping devices in the embassy's code room in 1987 but, together with the Central Intelligence Agency, concealed this information from the State Department.

The CIA earlier took the unusual step of issuing a public statement denying Mr. Kessler's account, stating that no evidence could be found of "unauthorized penetration" of the embassy code room.

Time reports that the National Security Agency wrote a letter to the magazine agreeing with the CIA, adding that "no information was, or is, being withheld" from the State Department.

Mr. Kessler, a former Washington Post reporter, called the Time article "naïve" and said that the magazine "fell for the government's line, which is an attempt to totally rewrite history."

Stanley W. Cloud, Time's deputy Washington bureau chief, said that the magazine was "casting no aspersions on Kessler."

"These kinds of stories are damned difficult," he said. "It's always like a committee feeling the shape of an elephant."

The Moscow embassy scandal burst into public view in December 1986, when an embassy guard, Sergeant Clayton Lonetree, admitted that he had given classified information to the Soviets. Another guard, Corporal Arnold Bracy, confessed to espionage but later recanted. Caspar W. Weinberger, then secretary of defense, called it "the worst spy case of the century."

Only Sergeant Lonetree was convicted as a legal case against others fell apart. Various publications, including Time, reported growing doubts about the original allegations. A Washington Post report in January 1988 concluded that "the entire affair was overblown."

But publication of "Moscow Station" and its prominent display in Time put the story back in the news. Mr. Cloud said that Time's decision to excerpt the book was made in New York, with some input from the Washington bureau.

"There were some who wondered whether his conclusions were right," Mr. Cloud said. "There was some debate within the organization about whether it was wise or not wise to run it."

But Mr. Kessler said he was told that "several people in the Washington bureau were very unhappy" about running the eight pages of excerpts.

A few weeks later, Mr. Cloud said, he and Time's Washington bureau chief, Strobe Talbot, developed reservations about Mr. Kessler's findings, and they assigned Jay Paterzell, a national security reporter, to reexamine the issue.

Mr. Paterzell's story says that numerous "secret sources," hidden inside the embassy and unknown to the Marine guards, recorded no evidence of penetration. The story also cites technical reasons why the Soviets could not have tapped into two key pieces of embassy equipment, as Mr. Kessler contends.

## AMERICAN TOPICS

### For More Awareness, A Museum of Trash

What is probably the first museum in the United States to be devoted to trash will be opened this fall at Lyndhurst, New Jersey, next to the vast Hackensack Meadows garbage dump. The New York Times reports, "Walking through the museum will give the sensation of being inside a mountain of garbage, though without the smell."

Household junk — dead batteries, plastic milk bottles, broken toys, rusted car fenders, bald tires, cereal boxes and soap cartons — spread across the floor, run up the walls and crawl across the ceiling.

Anthony Scardino, a state environmental official, said in all seriousness he hoped the museum would alert young people to the trash problem and encourage them to find "solutions a lot of us haven't figured out yet."

### Short Takes

Gregory Johnson, 32, whose conviction for burning the American flag outside the Republican National Convention in Dallas in 1984 was overturned in a 5-4 decision last month by the Supreme Court, is not entirely happy about it. He said he lives in fear that "some Rambo maniac" may attack him. "The government could set me up," he told People magazine, "and have some outraged citizen come down on me in a way the Supreme Court wasn't able to do."

Meanwhile, Skip Porteous of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, bought a batch of American flags and treated them with fire-retardant. He is selling them for \$10 apiece. He said the proceeds will go toward a commemoration of the ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791.

Flocks of sheep and teams of woodsmen have replaced chemical defoliants along the Oregon coast to clear brush from steep slopes for new forests. The cost is about the same. Federal court decisions in 1983 and 1984 barred the use of herbicides in U.S. forests in the Northwest. Sheep are used because they are easier to handle than goats and more agile than cattle.

Shorter Takes: Sears Tower in Chicago, the world's tallest building at 1,454 feet (about 445 meters), has been put on sale by Sears Roebuck & Co., which plans to move most of its staff of 6,000 to the suburbs. The asking price is reported to be \$1 billion. Both houses of the New York State Legislature have approved a bill that would allow Staten Island to secede.

from New York City. But secessionists still face formidable legal and practical obstacles. • One way to get a better seat in many major league baseball parks, The New York Times reports, is to bribe an usher \$5 to \$50 for the unused box seats of season ticket holders. Some managements wink at the practice; others try to stamp it out.

One bright spot for American business in trade with Japan is in franchises, the Los Angeles Times reports. Japanese companies have bought the Japanese rights to about 100 American franchises. A total of 7,366 retail outlets in Japan sell everything in U.S.-franchised products from flame-broiled chicken to Venetian blinds. After Canada, with 237 U.S. franchises and 9,031 outlets, Japan is the biggest foreign market for U.S. franchises.

Last week's White House dinner for Prime Minister Bob Hawke of Australia was to have been held in the Rose Garden. But two nights earlier, Barbara Bush recounts, she took Millie, the family's springer spaniel, for a walk with the thermometer in the 90s (above 32 degrees centigrade). "I was wearing just a T-shirt and slacks, and when I came in I was dripping," the First Lady said. "I thought of all the hairdos that will wilt and all the men who will sweat at me. It's so beautiful with all the little lights in the trees and bushes, but it is cruel and unusual punishment." The dinner was switched to the air-conditioned State Dining Room.

Arthur Higbee

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## U.S. Capital Fights a Slump in Tourism

By Paul Farhi  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — On the eve of her busiest day of the year, when thousands of visitors would file past her souvenir truck on their way to the fireworks show on the Mall, Carmen Castillo was glum.

Since January, she estimates, business at her stand has fallen by 40 percent. "It was supposed to pick up by now," Miss Castillo said, smiling thinly, "but nothing's coming."

Hideo Koga used to fret about the local tourism business too. His tour company caters to Japanese visitors, and reports of drugs and crime in the national capital threatened to send his customers elsewhere.

But Mr. Koga, whose clientele has increased by 20 percent over last year, noted: "There's a lot more concern about the crime in Los Angeles and New York now."

As the summer crunch began in earnest this

week, the Koga-Castillo contrast presented a puzzling picture of Washington's \$2 billion-a-year tourism industry. Although hotels are reporting solid bookings, some vendors say there are fewer people in museums and at the monuments and other tourist spots.

The most plausible explanation is that would-be visitors who live near Washington have avoided the city because of unusually rainy weather, not high crime; those who live far beyond the capital — business travelers, conventioners and tourists — are still coming.

City hotels were at 71.5 percent of capacity through May, a slight increase over 1988, a banner year.

For some industry officials, the hotel-occupancy figures are the most important indicator of the health of tourism — the city's largest employer after the government. Hotel clients spend far more than other visitors on meals, entertainment and services, and pay millions of

dollars to the city through sales and room taxes.

But officials say that hotel guests make up only about a third of the visitors to Washington. The others are divided among out-of-towners who stay with friends and relatives and "day-trip" visitors who come in for an afternoon or evening.

The restaurants, tour providers and street vendors who rely on such customers say the drop has been especially noticeable in the Mall area at the Washington Monument, the prime tourist destination.

"Business just isn't what it has been," said Dan Murphy, a tour guide. Surveying a so-so crowd queuing up for a White House tour, he said: "This is about the worst I can remember."

Rain has probably been the biggest factor in tourism this year. The National Weather Service said that Washington received 26.9 inches (69 centimeters) of rain during the first half of 1989, 43 percent more than normal.

## A 'Mini-Marshall Plan' for Philippines

By Thomas L. Friedman  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d pledged Tuesday that the Bush administration would seek \$1 billion over the next five years in supplemental economic assistance for the Philippine government of President Corason C. Aquino to help buttress her fragile democracy.

The U.S. pledge was made at the inaugural session of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative for the Philippines, a cooperative effort by 19 nations and seven international financial institutions to aid the Philippine economy while Mr. Aquino's government implements sweeping economic and agrarian changes.

U.S. officials said the willingness of nations as far afield as Italy to take part in the aid conference was a reflection of the degree to which the dramatic and widely televised "people power" revolution in the Philippines, which toppled Ferdinand E. Marcos and eventually brought Mrs. Aquino to power, had captured the imagination of the world.

This so-called mini-Marshall Plan for the Philippines, which was mutually inspired by members of the

U.S. Congress, was being described by Mr. Baker as an example of the kind of "creative responsibility sharing" that the Bush administration wanted to see more of between the United States, Japan and other rapidly growing Asian economies.

Foreign Minister Hiroshi Mitsuoka of Japan announced that his country would commit \$100 million in aid for development projects in the Philippines this year, over and above the roughly \$900 million in grants and loans already promised. The French ambassador, Bernard Dorin, speaking on behalf of the 12-nation European Community, said the EC would triple its average annual aid to the Philippines, bringing it up to \$350 million. Other nations were scheduled to announce their pledges Wednesday.

In addition to taking part in the pledging conference, Mr. Baker, who flew into Tokyo on Tuesday at the beginning of an Asia tour, used his 24-hour stopover in Tokyo to meet with Prime Minister Susuko Uno, whose political future has been clouded by a sex scandal.

Mr. Baker leaves Tokyo on Wednesday for Brunei for the annual conference of the foreign ministers of the Association of South

East Asian Nations. He said that the prime subject for discussion with the six ASEAN nations — Brunei, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia — would be a settlement of the Cambodian conflict.

The secretary pledged to seek from Congress \$1 billion in special grant assistance for the Philippines over roughly the next five years, with \$200 million earmarked for next year. This would be in addition to the \$962 million in economic and military aid the Bush administration has already budgeted for the Philippines for 1990 and 1991. The purpose of the supplemental aid is as much to fund specific projects as to signal private foreign investors that it is safe to commit their own funds to the Philippines.

How much of Mr. Baker's pledge will actually be appropriated by Congress remains to be seen, but administration officials said they expected to get at least \$150 million, given the bipartisan support for the aid package on Capitol Hill. Whether the full \$1 billion ever will be paid out could also depend on the outcome of negotiations between Washington and Manila over the future of American bases in the Philippines, the leases of

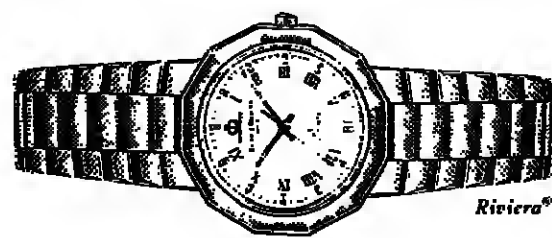
which come up for renewal in two years. There is a strong move afoot in the Philippines to end the U.S. military presence and this could influence congressional attitudes on future aid.

Some congressmen also have complained that the Philippines has been unable to absorb all of the aid funds already committed. In addition, they pointed to the recent exposure of corruption in Mrs. Aquino's land reform program, which has already led to the resignation of two dozen officials.

Mr. Mitsuoka also alluded to concerns about corruption and mismanagement while making the Japanese pledge, saying: "I earnestly hope the Philippine government as a whole will continue to exert their utmost efforts, in response to the enthusiasm of the international community for the Philippines, in ensuring efficient and effective implementation of development assistance."

In an impassioned speech, the Philippine foreign secretary, Raul Manglapus, hailed the donor nations for their "solemn act of humanitarian justice" and promised that none of it would be misused. "Our word remains as hard as gold," he told the donors.

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## A Text Taken Seriously

One of the themes in American reports from Tiananmen Square at the height of the popular demonstrations there could be stated roughly as follows: "While the people here are calling for democracy, it's hard for them to give a clear definition of what they mean by it; it's probably something quite different from democracy as we know it."

That statement may be debatable as to its truth (a number of the Chinese we heard speaking out, especially those outside China, seemed to have a pretty good idea of what they wanted, and it didn't sound too different from what we have), but it is revealing of a certain attitude that many Americans have about democracy: We tend to be a bit proprietary about it. Once the crowds start to march on the palace somewhere and an undemocratic government starts to totter, we begin discussing how things ought to proceed ("Now, they should have a bicameral legislature, of course, and an independent judiciary...") and also trying that things not be allowed to get out of hand.

This habit of mind is not always appreciated abroad (nor is the advice necessarily followed), but it is understandable why Americans have it, given our peculiar history. In an age of growing and often nasty nationalism, the United States has united not around race, language, religion or ties to the land, but rather around adherence to ideas set forth in a few paragraphs of incom-

modest 18th century prose: "that all men are created equal," that people have "certain unalienable rights," that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Of course, the inclusive sort of republic implied in those words from the Declaration of Independence was not all that evident to people in slavery, to women and others denied the franchise, and to the immigrants who suffered privation and discrimination in America. But the document has endured because, rather than becoming the object of cynicism, it has been repeatedly invoked to point up the country's shortcomings. It has been a standing rebuke to the conscience: debated, revered, misunderstood, but above all alive.

A Chinese student in America wrote an article for The Washington Post at the height of the uprising in Beijing. In it he argued that achieving democracy in China was a simple matter of observing that country's constitution, which clearly provides a framework for representative government. A short time later, the government in China used the military to terminate all public discussion along these lines. Among the many deviations that such regimes generally find it necessary to keep an eye out for is the tendency to take certain documents too seriously.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Bitter End in Greece

The unlikely Greek coalition of conservatives and Communists must count as a perverse achievement for Andreas Papandreu. The two parties that now sit together in Athens, albeit temporarily, are descendants of the opposing forces in a bitter 1940s civil war. The Papandreu era began eight years ago with the return of Greeks exiled since the Communist defeat. Mr. Papandreu, a Socialist, counted on the ideological enmity of opponents on his left and his right to keep himself divided and himself in power.

The prime minister had hoped that those divisions would still work for him even after an election last month gave the conservative New Democracy Party a plurality. But Greeks are disgusted over reports of massive corruption and disenchanted with Mr. Papandreu's flamboyance. The voters make clear that they want his party out and the guilty brought to justice.

Heeding this message, New Democrats and Communists subordinated ideology to the popular desire for "catharsis." Since Greek law provides that ministers gain

immunity unless proceedings are begun against them under the very next government, the wrongdoers would have become untouchable had Mr. Papandreu formed the new cabinet.

The Papandreu era was not without achievements. Socialist government finally helped to overcome bitter divisions still left over from the civil war and the colonels' dictatorship of 1967-1974. It helped bring economic gains and improved social services to rural Greece. And it guided Greece's entry into the European Community, a step that the Socialists had once opposed. Mr. Papandreu began a détente with Turkey, the traditional enemy but NATO ally, and softened his previous insistence on the removal of American bases and withdrawal from NATO.

Many Greeks might have wished his government a happier ending, but Mr. Papandreu, through his arrogance and apparent tolerance of corruption, drove old enemies to make common cause against him.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## The Court on Abortion

The absolute worst nightmare of pro-choice Americans has not come true: Roe v. Wade has not been overturned. But the Supreme Court's decision in Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, which was announced on Monday, provides Americans who believe in the right of choice on abortion great cause for celebration, just as it provides cause for celebration to those who would limit abortion. Only Justice Antonin Scalia wrote in favor of outright reversal, but a majority of the court sees no constitutional bar to state statutes that limit the availability of abortion, and their opinions point the way to possible further restrictions in the future.

Three years ago, Missouri enacted a law containing 20 provisions that amended existing statutes concerning unborn children and abortion. The preamble and three other sections reached the Supreme Court on appeal. The preamble, which contained a finding by the legislature that life begins at conception and a directive that all Missouri laws be interpreted to provide unborn children with the same rights enjoyed by other persons, was easily disposed of by the court. The language, wrote Chief Justice William Rehnquist, is simply an abstract proposition that imposes no substantive restrictions on abortion, and its constitutionality need not be decided. Another section of the Missouri statute, which made it unlawful to use public funds for abortion counseling, was withdrawn from appeal when the state conceded that it did not apply to the conduct of any physician or health care provider, public or private, but only to those responsible for allocating public funds.

The two remaining provisions on appeal were upheld. One makes it unlawful for a public facility to be used for performing abortions. This removes all public hospitals and clinics, as well as those private facilities located on government land, from the pool of institutions offering abortion services. Both the intent and the effect of this statute are harmful. Unfortunately the court has

consistently upheld such laws restricting the use of public funds for abortions.

The final matter at issue was a section directing doctors to conduct certain tests on a fetus after 20 weeks if there is a possibility that the fetus is viable. A majority found the provision constitutional because doctors need order tests only if a potential life is at stake. But a plurality took the opportunity to disregard Roe v. Wade's framework, which allows certain regulation in the second trimester to protect the health of the mother, and greater restrictions only in the third trimester to protect fetal life. At least five justices are known to support the state's interest in protecting potential life when viability is possible, which leads to the prospect of further restrictions at earlier dates, premised on the welfare of the fetus.

It is now open season on state legislatures all over the country. Anti-abortion forces will press for more onerous restrictions, greater curtailment of state support and far more emphasis on the welfare of the fetus than on that of the mother. They will search Monday's opinions for soft spots, and will pursue them. Pro-choice groups, which have always claimed wide public support for abortion, as measured by opinion polls, will be forced to mobilize that support in 50 state legislatures just to hold the line.

Perhaps it would have been better if the abortion question had been scolded in state legislatures rather than in the court. But that didn't happen, and the landmark decision became not only law but a widely relied-on fact of American life. Now, at this late date, the court has reopened the political battle and given encouragement to those who would chip away at an established constitutional right. The battle in statehouses and in courts will continue for decades, and it will be ferocious. The court, in our view, did great harm on Monday not just to a constitutional right but to women who will be thwarted in their attempt to exercise it.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Comment

### Negative Thinking in London

From the start the assumption in Westminster has been that there is no way Britain could honor its obligations to the 3.26 million Hong Kong residents entitled to British passports by giving them the right to settle here. Last week, the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee endorsed that negative view.

A study commissioned from a team of London University economists [cites] housing, transport and unskilled labor as areas that initially would be adversely affected. But it also foresaw numerous gains: for ex-

ample, to the balance of payments, to Britain's capital account, to the already stretched skilled labor market and to the "dependency ratio" of those of working age to children and the elderly. Overall it concluded that the benefits of all 3.26 million potential passport holders coming to Britain would outweigh the costs. Sir Geoffrey claimed Monday to be dismayed by suggestions that [London's view to the contrary] was a matter of race. Yet would the same assumptions have been made if Hong Kong inhabitants were predominantly white and English speaking?

—The Independent (London).

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.  
Tel.: (1) 46.37.93.00. Telex: Adversizing, 612595; Circulation, 612832; Editorial, 612718; Production, 636698.  
Directeur de la publication: Richard D. Simmons

Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Cambridge Road, Singapore 0511. Tel. 472-7768. Telex R356923  
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S.A. du capital de 1.200.000 F. RCS Nanterre B 73021126. Commission Paritaire No. 61337  
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## OPINION

# Hong Kong: The Time to Restore Confidence Is Now

By Martin C. M. Lee

HONG KONG—In the last two months the Chinese leadership in Beijing has fully exposed its ugly face, television cameras from all over the world having so effectively removed its mask. The massacre in Tiananmen Square and the ensuing crackdown were not the first crimes ever committed by that leadership, but they were the first to be witnessed by so many outsiders.

Hong Kong has watched these events with shock, pain, anger and now fear.

The people of Hong Kong, including those who were known for their devotion to the Chinese Communist Party, have united in condemning the recent crimes against humanity. On two successive Sundays in late May, about a million people—or some one-sixth of Hong Kong's population—joined in massive but orderly demonstrations against the Chinese Communist Party leadership's handling of the students' movement. In the eyes of that leadership there is little doubt that Hong Kong is in rebellion. The fear in Hong Kong is that there will be a crackdown here after 1997.

But the British government intends to return Hong Kong to China in 1997, under the Joint Declaration signed between the two governments in 1984—under which the people of Hong Kong were made a number of hacked-up promises such as "one country, two systems" and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" with "a high degree of autonomy."

Margaret Thatcher and her foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the two principal

architects from the British side of this agreement, still express confidence that the Chinese government will adhere to its terms in full. This confidence would indeed be reassuring if they were prepared to back it up by giving the right of abode to the 3.28 million Chinese people who were born in Hong Kong as British

**Full democracy must be instituted before 1997. Human rights must be entrenched now.**

subjects, in case they need a lifeline. But this they categorically refuse to do, on the ground that it would double the number of people of "ethnic minorities" in the United Kingdom.

In these circumstances, all those in Hong Kong who can afford to emigrate are actively taking steps to do so—professionals, entrepreneurs and those in top and middle management, including many in the Civil Service. But these are the people Hong Kong can least afford to lose.

Mrs. Thatcher has said in effect that if there is a calamity in Hong Kong after 1997 so as to cause its people to push their little boats to the seas to escape persecution, then the British government would appeal to the international community to give them refuge. But

this is a completely defeatist line to take, and may even be self-fulfilling.

Mrs. Thatcher should wake up to the fact that unless she comes up with a package almost immediately to restore confidence in Hong Kong, the British government will not be able to comply with Clause 4 of the Joint Declaration, which effectively requires the British government to deliver Hong Kong to the Chinese government in 1997 as a prosperous and stable international city.

The time for action is now. Mrs. Thatcher can still prove herself to be not just the longest serving British prime minister but also a true leader who averts what is fast appearing to be a certain disaster for Hong Kong.

The vital objective is to persuade the people to stay in Hong Kong. I would suggest the following as a package:

1. No Chinese troops should be stationed in Hong Kong, and they should enter Hong Kong only to restore order upon the request of the chief executive.  
2. Hong Kong must be given a much higher degree of autonomy than promised in the draft Basic Law (the future constitution for Hong Kong). It should stipulate, for example, that only the chief executive, and not Beijing, has the power to declare the region to be in a state of emergency.  
3. Full democracy must be instituted in Hong Kong before 1997.

4. Human rights must be entrenched in Hong Kong now.

5. There must be some effective monitoring by the United Nations, so that what happens in Hong Kong after 1997 will not be just "an internal affair" of China, as written in Tibet and Beijing now are.

6. All the people in Hong Kong must be given a lifeline in case all the above should prove to be inadequate.

As to the last point, it may be easier than Mrs. Thatcher thinks, for many governments are now extremely angry with China and are now extremely angry with Hong Kong and know that they are an asset.

Mrs. Thatcher should accept the recommendation of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in London to "take the lead at the earliest opportunity, particularly with our EC partners and immigrant-receiving countries such as Australia, Canada and the U.S., in establishing the definite guarantees which could be put into place in the years ahead," and come up with a definite plan of action.

Mrs. Thatcher, let not posterity remember you as the British prime minister who caused the sun to go down in shame on June 30, 1997, over the way you have handled Hong Kong.

The writer, an attorney and member of Hong Kong's Legislative Council, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

# Ex-Minister Heseltine: Waiting Patiently in Churchillian Exile

By David S. Broder

LONDON—The most interesting figure in British politics at the moment is not a member of the government or of the loyal opposition. To find him you do not go to Westminster or Whitehall. Instead you take a rickety elevator to the sixth floor of a building opposite Scotland

**"Sometimes the change can come very quickly."**

Yard and walk down the corridor to the door carrying the name of an obscure publishing house.

Behind the door, at a desk covered with papers, sits Michael Heseltine, the man many here call "the next prime minister but one."

On this day he is wearing a pale blue shirt which exactly matches the color of his eyes. At 56, his mane of

blond hair is turning gray, but the profile which gave him the nickname "Tarzan" remains largely intact.

When he opens the conversation by asking, with mock innocence, "Why in the world is The Washington Post interested in me?" you have no doubt you are dealing with a politician.

It is always instructive to visit politicians who are out of power but not out of chances. In their years of waiting, after their first efforts for the White House had failed, you could discern the unquenched ambition and the calculating political intelligence which ultimately carried Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush to success.

Mr. Heseltine's preferred model, as befits a British Tory, is Winston Churchill. Like Churchill on the eve of World War II, Mr. Heseltine is a

conservative back-bench member of Parliament. Like Churchill, he has resigned from the government on a "matter of principle."

The occasion was the thoroughly nasty affair which split Margaret Thatcher's cabinet three years ago over the future of a British helicopter manufacturing firm called Westland. Mr. Heseltine, who was then the defense minister, had one view of what should be done to rescue the company. Others, with a different view, prevailed with Prime Minister Thatcher. In a blaze of mutual recriminations over leaks, Mr. Heseltine literally stormed out of a cabinet meeting and quit.

That clearly does him to exile so long as Mrs. Thatcher remains in power or is in a position to dictate her successor. Despite her enmity, how-

ever, Mr. Heseltine continues to be an immensely popular figure with grass-roots Tories. He piles the British equivalent of the mashed-potatoes circuit (kidney pie, perhaps) as assiduously as Mr. Reagan did during his years of waiting.

In his frequent television talk show appearances, and in this interview, he is careful to offer no direct, on-the-record criticism of the prime minister's leadership. But in three areas he has espoused policies markedly different in tone and substance from Mrs. Thatcher's.

One is the environment. Mrs. Thatcher has turned green this year, as she has sensed growing public concern over the issue. But Mr. Heseltine held that cabinet portfolio for four years before moving to defense in 1983 and has better credentials and a more extensive agenda.

The second issue is education and

economic development. He calls for a bolder government role and more spending in areas where Mrs. Thatcher has cut back. His readiness to accept public-private partnerships in a wide variety of economic and social fields earned him one of the worst epithets in the U.K.: "Downing Street interventionist." But it seems to fit a public mood impatient with her doctrinaire free enterprise.

Most important of all, Mr. Heseltine has left Mrs. Thatcher on the issue of Europe. His favorite theme, and the topic of his newly published book, is that Britain must embrace and lead the emerging European Community, not resist and delay it through a series of rearranged battles, as Mrs. Thatcher has been doing.

Britain, he argues, is not strong enough to stop "the relentless momentum" sweeping aside the barriers to European economic union. If "dawdles or drops out," the continent "will spare us no more than a regretful shrug." Britain would be left on the sidelines of history, clinging to a sovereignty of empty symbols but stripped of the power and influence it could enjoy if it chose instead "to commit all our national energies to the enterprise of Europe."

It is a worthy theme on which to stake a political career. And probably not that risky.

Mr. Heseltine knows that the view he takes is supported by increasing numbers of Britons, particularly in the post-World War II generations, and by virtually all business leaders.

Indeed, it is shared by some of the ablest people in Mrs. Thatcher's government, including the chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson, and the foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe. These potential rivals of Mr. Heseltine have sacrificed much of their freedom of expression in order to maintain Mrs. Thatcher's favor, preferring some power today to the prospect of competing freely for greater power tomorrow.

So Mr. Heseltine can afford to be patient. "The Conservative Party," he told me, "has one great skill: survival. In the end, it will always do what it needs to do to be sure it is in tune with what the public wants—and the times require. Sometimes it is slow, and it may lose an election before it changes leaders and directions. And sometimes the change can come very quickly."

Whenever and however it comes, Michael Heseltine intends to be ready.

The Washington Post.

# Israel: Hard Reality Points to the Way Forward

By A. M. Rosenthal

JERUSALEM—In the end, after all the travel in Israel, all the talks, arguments and emotions, one sentence keeps coming back: "We think it is our country, and they think it is theirs."

Yitzhak Shamir, prime minister of Israel, said it in a conversation in his office. He said it without drama. It is too important and enveloping a reality for him to trivialize with dramatics.

I talked with Israeli politicians and generals in their homes and offices, and with Palestinians in a prison camp in the Negev desert. It all came back to that one sentence, that one unadorned kernel.

So much has been said and written, so much blood shed, for so many decades, that it is healthy to get down to the one kernel of reality. Then we can see if it can be melted, and what it means for Israelis and Palestinians who want peace—but not at any price.

That qualification rules out two solutions. One is that Israel should never give up an inch of territory to Palestinian self-government. The other is that an independent Palestinian state must be the only goal and purpose of negotiation.

As the years go by, more and more Palestinians show that they will never rest until they can remove the weight and humiliation of occupation.

Too many Israelis fear that an independent Palestine would now be the cauldron in which the war for conquest of Israel would be set to boil. The fear and the danger are too strong, too probable, to be smothered.

If both sides stick to these extreme solutions, the 40-year war will go on.

Palestinians and their supporters delude them-

selves if they think that the intifada will overcome Israeli determination to protect Israel's survival as a nation. Israelis want to end the intifada, not surrender to it.

So the first step toward a solution is to understand that there is no solution now at hand. That is hardly a new situation in the world.

Only with that understanding can the next step be taken—to start the slow process of working toward one, knowing that it may take years but that time is more expendable than lives.

I believe that Mr. Shamir is trying to do that now with his proposals for an election by Palestinians, an amount of Palestinian self-government to be defined and five years of testing and negotiation without determining the outcome in advance.

The plan has drawbacks for the Palestine Liberation Organization, not for all Palestinians. It would exclude the PLO from formally taking part in the elections—although most people would have connections to the PLO.

Israelis would be utter fools to deal now with the PLO and agree to a separate Palestine under its present leadership. A few of the leaders, like Yasser Arafat, say some words about allowing Israel to exist, after all, but most of them are as fiercely determined as ever that the only real solution is the destruction of Israel.

The Shamir proposals are not a solution, for either side, but could be a beginning toward one.

He is not handing out territory. Neither is he

pretending about taking the negotiation road. His first problem is to overcome powerful opposition by members of his own ruling coalition.

The U.S. role is to persuade the PLO to allow elections to go ahead, but not to reward the PLO with so many goodies as to scare Israelis off.

So far the Bush-Baker evenhandedness has consisted largely of using both hands to twist the Israeli arm. But Secretary of State James Baker has shown that he understands something enormously important and usually forgotten: that the struggle is not simply between Palestinians and Israelis but part of the Arab world's campaign of hate and war against Israel.

The United States should now tell the Arab nations that it is time they awoke from their long dream of hate, long past time, and signed peace treaties with Israel. That would do more toward an Israeli-Palestinian solution than all the threats, wars and embargoes combined—assuming that some Arab nations really want such a solution.

Ahead, the talk is all of Israeli fatigue. Up close, fatigue does show, but it is not nearly as deep as the reservoir of determination to protect the country's security.

In Israel, security is not just a concept. It is hills that command valleys, forts along a frontier, hours to muster, distances that can be crossed by shells and patrols, neighboring states heavy with arms and sworn to Israeli extermination.

To understand Israel and the road ahead, first read history. Then buy a map.

The New York Times.

# After the Cold War: A Benign World Order Isn't Guaranteed

By Dimitri K. Simes

WASHINGTON—Even before the Cold War came to an end, new challenges to the West were looming on the horizon. The simultaneous erosion of old alliances, the rise of nationalist sentiments, deepening economic disagreements between advanced nations, mounting economic failures in the Third World and proliferation of sophisticated weapons to many volatile areas hardly assure a smooth ride to a better tomorrow.

The historic failure of communism does not guarantee a benign world order. Some recent pronouncements about democracy being on the march all around the globe could have come straight from President Woodrow Wilson. "I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession of its ordered practice are now about to make conquest of the world by the sheer power of example and of friendly helpfulness," he predicted in October 1918.

In the light of the tragic events of the 20th century, repeating this kind of naïveté today should be considered outside the bounds of rational thought.

What is needed is imaginative thinking about the implications of the declining Soviet threat. In the new international environment, it is no longer enough to let the Soviet factor disproportionately influence how the United States structures its forces, how it organizes its alliances, how it distributes economic assistance and how it reacts to any development in the world.

New challenges are interconnected and reinforce each other. One difficulty that will have a major impact on all other aspects of U.S. international activities is the erosion of NATO.

The alliance was never good at addressing anything but the Soviet threat in Europe. The unifying force of this threat helped Western nations to overcome many economic and na-

tional differences in the name of common security. With both NATO and the Warsaw Pact increasingly in disarray, there is danger of political fragmentation on both sides of the great European divide. The fact that currently the two most highly charged conflicts in Europe are among allies—Turkey and Greece in NATO and Hungary and Romania in the Warsaw Pact—may be a sign of things to come. A re-emergence of the German unification issue may be another explosive side effect of the collapse of Cold War discipline.

Outside Europe the allies rarely worked in concert. Many NATO members failed to support Washington in crisis situations, ranging from Vietnam to the Arab-Israeli wars and the raid on Libya. The United States, for a variety of moral and pragmatic reasons, did little for its allies when they were fighting the onslaught of their colonial empires. In 1956 during the Suez crisis the United States was squarely on the side of Egypt against Britain and France.

It is from the Third World that threats to U.S. security and prosperity come. With the exception of East Asia, most developing countries are economic basket cases. Their newly discovered fascination with market mechanisms is greatly constrained by an astronomical debt that approaches \$1,336.6 billion. Local rulers frequently use the West as a convenient scapegoat for their countries' failures. The pains of modernization make the sense of resentment more intense.

These anti-Western animosities are increasingly backed by powerful military arsenals. Unscrupulous regimes such as those in North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria already have a combination of chemical weapons and ballistic missiles or are quickly moving to obtain them. A number of

them should be left to their own devices.

The reduction of the Soviet threat allows the United States to change force posture to emphasize mobility and effectiveness outside the European theater. That means a lower priority for intercontinental ballistic missiles, for which there are simply no appropriate targets outside the Soviet Union, and for heavy tanks and huge attack helicopters, unsuitable for most Third World contingencies. It means reversing the decision to kill the marines' Osprey V-22 aircraft designed precisely with those contingencies in mind. The navy needs more conventional-warhead cruise missiles, ideal for attacking enemy targets without

either U.S. losses or unacceptable collateral damage to local civilians. Advanced, highly usable weapons of the kind, rather than nuclear missiles, provide the United States a realistic military edge where it counts.

There is no need to get nostalgic for the cruel clarity of the Cold War. But in order to avoid ever having to think about it as the good old days, a lot of courage, creativity and determination on the part of the United States in shaping a new world is indispensable.

The writer is director of the U.S. Soviet Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He contributed this to The Washington Post.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1899: War Over Canal?

NEW YORK—A possible war between Costa Rica and Nicaragua over the proposed canal is now attracting attention. The war party now in control in the former state urges an immediate invasion of Nicaragua. The canal issue was amicably arranged with President Soto. The Costa Ricans got all they asked for in a certain number of shares and stocks and representation on the board of directors. Everybody was satisfied, and the engineers had begun to lay out the route, but President Soto has disappeared and another faction, under the lead of Esquivel, has control of affairs. They gravely propose to repudiate all arrangements heretofore made and to stipulate new terms on which the canal will be permitted to pass along the border of their territory.

### 1914: Wilson's Speech

PHILADELPHIA—President Wilson, giving an address [on July 4]

before an immense crowd on the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, urged that the United States should not be a party to material benefit. "I am willing to get anything for an American that money can buy, except the rights of other men," he said. Mr. Wilson urged greater consideration for the struggling Mexican masses and deplored the property losses in Mexico.

### 1939: A New Vaccine

PARIS—After more than 141 years of research, smallpox vaccination has now reached practical perfection, Dr. Harry Plotz, laboratory chief of the Pasteur Institute, told the Académie de Médecine yesterday [July 4]. The new vaccine is the result of two years of research by the Pasteur Institute during which time more than 50,000 French colonial subjects and soldiers in the French Army have been vaccinated with various forms of the new smallpox culture, he said.



## OPINION

## Abortion: Now Let's Have A 50-State Row Over This

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — Since the emphatic and supposedly definitive argument-ending Supreme Court ruling on abortion in 1973, abortion rulings have flowed from the court like water from a fountain. It was inevitable that this would be so, although a majority of the justices may not have understood this. It was inevitable for cultural, constitutional and scientific reasons, and because a Supreme Court ruling can be emphatic yet pregnant with trouble.

The ruling on Monday may seem anticlimactic. Actually, it may be pre-climactic. It did not reach, because it was not necessary for the purpose of ruling in this case, the heart of the 1973 decision. But Monday's ruling increases the odds that the court one day will reach it in a case generated by this one.

Monday's ruling will fuel the dynamic of litigation — the dialectic of litigation-legislation — that the Supreme Court let loose in 1973. By significantly enlarging the scope for state regulation of abortion, the decision turns 50 state legislatures into laboratories for testing the blurry and evolving limits. This testing will generate a series of cases for the court. In one of them, the court (or the court with a one-ninth change in its composition) may reach, and remove, the heart of the 1973 ruling.

That heart is the assertion that the right to an abortion is an aspect of the constitutional right to "privacy" which, although nowhere mentioned in the Constitution, has been located by various justices in the "penumbra" of other rights.

The 1973 decision was provocative because it was extreme and incoherent. The extremism was in the flat assertion that at no point is a fetus a "person in the whole sense." The incoherence was in the emphasis on the trimesters of gestation. This grounded the review of abortion regulations not in constitutional law but in medical findings, or, more precisely, in judges' understandings of those evolving findings.

(The court said that in the third trimester a fetus can live a "meaningful" life outside the womb. The court did not reveal its criteria of meaningfulness.)

For 16 years American politics has been convulsed by the wrong controversy, about when "life" begins. (As though the court could tell when "meaningful" life, but not life, begins.) In every abortion, something living is killed. The right controversy, which is philosophical but to which science can contribute, is this: What is the meaning of "individuality" and when in the continuum that begins with conception is there an individual owed the protections associated with the status of person?

As the justices trek off to vacation, they should take with them "Science and the Unborn" by Clifford Grobstein, professor emeritus of biological science and public policy at the University of California in San Diego. It is not

your basic beach book, but it is a lucid guide to reasoning about how to assign status to a fetus.

He identifies six aspects of individuality: there are progressive levels of complexity, arising separately and gradually and culminating in psychic and social individuality. Such analysis is not sufficient to generate public policy (neither is nor constitutional law can supplant philosophy), but it is necessary.

Live by the sword, die by it. Pro-abortion forces who have lived by the sword are now dying a death of a thousand cuts at the hands of the court. It is cynical, crackpot "realism" to say that the court follows the election returns, but it is simple physics to note that the court is slowly shaped by the results of presidential elections. Recent elections have been influenced by the provocation of pro-abortion groups that energized an anti-abortion constituency.

It was provocative enough that pro-abortion forces used judicial fiat as a scythe in 1973 to mow down the abortion laws of 50 states. They should have practiced the patience of democracy, arguing their case in legislatures, where they had been succeeding.

Fourteen states with 41 percent of the population had liberalized abortion laws before 1973. Since then, pro-abortion forces, including some on the Supreme Court, have been immoderately provocative and overreaching in rulings which have held, for example, that almost any parental involvement in or delaying of an abortion decision is an unconstitutional burden on the right.

On the other hand, the Republican Party has prospered by harnessing the small but intense anti-abortion constituency. The party could be crushed if the court's 1973 ruling is overturned and the party finds itself committed, as it is today, flatly against a right — fairly free access to early abortions — that a substantial majority of Americans endorse.

By turning up the temperature in the abortion argument, Monday's decision makes trouble for George Bush, who deserves it. His smug pandering to the passions of the moment regarding flag burning — a constitutional amendment to stop what hardly ever happens — will cause the right-to-life movement to clamor for similar exhibitionism on behalf of their amendment. They will tell the First Opponentist that there are few flag burnings a year but thousands of abortions every day.

Let us hope that the court soon drives out of the intellectual cul-de-sac it took a wrong turn into in 1973. It should restore to the states the right to regulate abortions. Let's have a 50-state row over this, remembering (it seems to slip some judicial minds) that democracy is as American as French toast and English muffins.

Washington Post Writers Group.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## A Poet Held in Vietnam

In response to the editorial "The Refugee Challenge" (June 24) and recent reports:

It would help to install the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as a respected member of the society of nations if its many thousands of prisoners incarcerated decades ago for political reasons were released. This would serve to encourage its other citizens to remain and work for the common good.

In particular, such a course could be exemplified by the release of the internationally acclaimed poet Nguyen Chi Thien, who was imprisoned in 1958 for the "crime" of trying to start a literary magazine, and who has spent most of his life since then in prisons and re-education camps.

NANCY ARMSTRONG, Hamburg.

The editorial refers to Hong Kong as being under an expiring lease. Hong Kong then a barren island, was ceded to Britain in perpetuity in 1842. The expiring lease concerns the New Territories, which are partly on the mainland.

C. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Paris.

## Reagan's Line, and Deng's

Ronald Reagan blames the U.S. Communist Party for the demonstrations in America against the Vietnam War ("A Reagan View of U.S. and Chinese Pressures," June 17). He contends that members of the party kept "the disturbances going, made sure that the trouble continued." This is the same simplistic explanation that is now used by Beijing in blaming a small minority

of "counterrevolutionary hooligans" for the uprising there.

The U.S. anti-war movement of the 1960s and the pro-democracy movement in China both had wide popular support. Mr. Reagan and Deng Xiaoping need a lesson in political logic.

LEONORE SUHL, London.

## Bush and Friends in China

Regarding the opinion column "Bush and China: When Friendship Isn't Enough" (June 28) by David S. Broder:

The novelist and Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez is a friend of the notorious Fidel Castro. One might accept such a thing of a writer, but hardly of a U.S. president. If George Bush allows sentiment about his many friends in China to affect his judgment on policy, then he should not be in politics.

ANNA JAROTA, Nogent-sur-Marne, France.

## Public Safety Comes First

Regarding the opinion column "A Harsh Reading of the Constitution" (June 28) by Tom Wicker:

How can the writer show such disregard for public safety? If the U.S. Supreme Court were to make it more difficult to rid society of those who commit brutal crimes, there would be a substantial increase in the number of those offenders who were returned to society and repeated their crimes.

As for executing teen-agers, I would be relieved to know that animals such as those who committed the rape and beating of the woman in Central Park last spring were removed from society. Per-

haps men may not realize the fear this type of incident instills in women.

Freedom to commit crimes and get away with them is not something Americans should boast about.

MARGARET A. DE CHANT, Tokyo.

## What Are Winners to Do?

Regarding "Now It's Time for the House to Get On With Reforms" (Opinion, June 22):

David S. Broder seems to feel there is something wrong with the fact that members of the same political party keep getting elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He says the House should "reform" itself by enhancing "competition for House seats" and helping "challengers and voters hold the incumbents to account."

Elections for the House are held every two years. Should the party that tends to win these elections stand down? Should House members of the majority party tell the electorate to vote for someone else because it doesn't seem fair that the same folks keep getting elected?

Mr. Broder then compares the Conservative Party's control of Parliament with the Democratic Party's control of the House. The split opposition to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party consistently receives more votes than do the Conservatives. No wonder he can "sense the growing restiveness in the [British] electorate." Most of them vote for someone other than those who govern them. The only people growing restive with the U.S. House are the Republicans, who keep losing.

BRAD WRIGHT, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France.

## Soggy Socks, Bathtub Orgy And a Word About Strikes

By Rebecca Bouygues

PARIS — Right now it is Londoners' turn to put up with disrupted commuter and underground train service, but Parisians, too, had yet another rash of stoppages a few weeks ago. That brought back memories. Some people strike, some people don't.

It was last fall and Paris was a mess. No mail. You couldn't get to work on

## MEANWHILE

time, and when the day was over you spent hours fighting the traffic.

At five o'clock one afternoon I pick up three children of mine and a neighbor's child. We walk to the car in a drenching downpour. I turn the key to find the battery dead. How am I going to get these kids home? On a normal day we could walk a few blocks to the Metro station,

change trains twice and be home in an hour. Not much fun with four children in tow. Anyhow, the Metro is on strike.

I try calling the mother of the girl who is with me, Busy. I call six taxi companies. Some don't answer; others keep me on the line with irritating music. When a man finally answers, he says the traffic is so bad he can't pick us up. After an hour of running back and forth between the phone booth and the car to check on the children, I am soaked; I curse myself for not having worn rubber boots. The children are wet and dirty because they keep jumping out of the car to play.

It is now six o'clock and I have only enough money to call my husband and hope that his all-day meeting with the directors of his company is over. Yes, and he promises to come right away, a 10-minute drive on an ordinary day.

I sit in the car trying to warm up my feet as the children climb across me, fighting and whining that they are hungry. At 7:30 my husband arrives.

He keeps our son with him while I use his company car to take the girls home. I run into the apartment, make a thermos of hot chocolate, grab some bread, pick up dry socks and boots and instruct our daughters (aged 6 and 10) to take a warm bath, put on their nightclothes and eat something. Back to my husband and son, who have taken the battery out.

They put on their boots and drink the hot chocolate, and we go off in search of a new battery. We have to get the car running tonight because the strike will still be on tomorrow. We try two service stations. We find a battery at a big supermarket. It is now 9:30 and we are sick of this whole adventure. My husband slashes battery acid onto our boots.

We arrive home after 10 and find that the two girls have had a primary-school version of a Roman orgy. They let the bathtub and sink overflow and soaked all the towels and clean laundry. We mop up. When I let the water out of the tub I find two spoons, four yogurt cartons and an empty package of cookies. They have smashed wet cookies and thrown them onto the wall. True, they have taken a bath and eaten something, as instructed.

Even then, I know that of course I couldn't blame all my troubles that evening on the strike. The thought occurred all the same: Parents don't strike. A few days later I looked down at my boots and saw that the finish was peeling off because of the battery acid.

International Herald Tribune.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

## GENERAL NEWS

## The Secretive Sandinista Front: It's Like a Society Apart From Other Nicaraguans

By Julia Preston

Washington Post Service

MANAGUA — At a closed meeting of the top militants of the Sandinista party in May, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra and Vice President Sergio Ramirez Mercado were chosen by acclamation to run again for their posts in national elections next February. But the Sandinistas decided to keep the state to themselves.

That is how it has remained. Even today, Nicaraguans are not sure of the Sandinista candidates — and the likely national leaders for the next six years.

The Sandinistas will release the news when they choose to inaugurate their campaign.

In its role as ruling party, the

Sandinista National Liberation Front has made every significant government decision for a decade. Behind the scenes, the Sandinista front is like a secret society, standing apart from and often above other Nicaraguans.

The 37,500-member Sandinista front, which celebrates its 10th anniversary in power on July 19, is Nicaragua's new elite political caste.

Although they live in a relatively intimate society of only three million people, Sandinistas tend to work and socialize among themselves.

They share a classic leftist jargon and a messianic conviction that they are chosen by history to deliver Nicaragua from a humiliat-

ing century-long bondage to the United States.

"More than a party, it's a monastic cloister," observed Emilio Zambrana, editor of the independent weekly newspaper La Cronica.

All Sandinistas have military training and most have been in military actions against either the forces of the toppled dictator, Anastasio Somoza, or the U.S.-backed rebels known as contras. They live on the edge, feeling that at any moment they may be called upon to make any sacrifice for their cause.

"I don't count on living to see my dreams realized; I know I could die at any time," said a Sandinista militant who hopes Nicaragua will become a model socialist state.

The political party of the Sand-

nistas, like their ideology, is both romantic and ruthless.

It has an authoritarian Marxist structure invented by the cocksure rebelliousness of the young Nicaraguans, now in their early 40s, who forged the Sandinista front from the scruffy guerrilla army that drove out Mr. Somoza in 1979.

The Sandinista front's highest authority is the Directorate, made up of nine commanders. Weekly meetings to review all national policies are secret, and only a handful of nonmembers — including a former Cuban ambassador to Nicaragua, Vice President Ramirez and the American legal adviser, Paul Reicher — are known to have attended.

From the Directorate the word goes down through the party base committees, unions and media.

The Directorate consults with a 103-member assembly of top Sandinistas who are named by the commanders from an echelon of members called militants, who have proven their commitment over time in many duties. The party also includes basic members and aspirants seeking admission.

Recurring boomed in the first years of the revolution but Sandinista officials acknowledge that it has dropped off in recent years.

Today, the key institution for supplying a new generation of Sandinistas is the army. Since the front was implemented in 1984, about 100,000 Nicaraguan youths have shouldered AK-47 assault rifles to do two years of compulsory service.

The defense minister, General Humberto Ortega Saavedra, along

with his general staff and virtually all his field commanders are Sandinistas. Every army unit has a Sandinista Youth chapter, and junior officers are normally Sandinistas.

**"The Sandinista National Liberation Front is . . . the architect of its social progress."**

Manual for the Nicaraguan Army

Youth members. The Sandinista Youth organization enforces discipline with the U.S. aggression.

During 1988 peace talks, political leaders of the contra rebels charged that the army had become the military wing of the Sandinista front. General Ortega, the president's brother, said he had initiated efforts to depoliticize his troops.

The army's political section, however, publishes a manual titled "Political Preparation 1989," which is required study for every noncommissioned officer and recruit.

"The Sandinista National Liberation Front is the principal party in Nicaragua, the force that guides and educates Nicaraguan society and the architect of its social progress," the manual says in a chapter on the political parties and the scheduled elections.

By contrast, the booklet tells the recruits that the Democratic Coordinating Group, the main opposition coalition, is "an economic elite that is radically opposed to our revolution and defends the imperialist project to destroy it." The Conservative Party, one of the largest opposition parties, is said to

have a "treacherous sell-out anti-state" policy.

The Christian Democratic parties, which consistently opposed U.S. military aid to the contras, are

called "ultra-rightist, counterrevolutionary and openly identified with the U.S. aggression."

The Sandinista front requires surprisingly little standard indoctrination. Only the sparse writings of Augusto Cesar Sandino, the nationalist hero who gives the movement its name, and the turgid cant of the founder Carlos Fonseca are obligatory.

Erick Aguirre, a former lieutenant in the police and intelligence agency, resigned his Sandinista front membership in 1986. In an interview he explained: "I was a militant in a party over which I had absolutely no influence. I didn't think it was my role in life to go to an endless series of useless meetings."

As the contra war has faded since mid-1988, the Sandinista front's rigid hierarchy has become a cause of ferment within the party.

During the war, public dissent among Sandinista front members was unacceptable. One prominent Sandinista militant, the radio journalist Carlos Gaudin, was demoted from his post in the Assembly for differing on the air with Interior Minister Tomas Borge

Martinez over a detail of Sandinista history.

As Nicaragua has returned to a semblance of peace, the limits of dissent have broadened.

In April, Omar Cabezas, a guerrilla veteran who now heads the Sandinista community movement, told the El Nuevo Diario newspaper that a state-owned company was selling milk contaminated with bacteria. Faced with enraged consumers, the Directorate issued a rare communiqué that the Sandinista front "did not support" Mr. Cabezas's revelations.

Mr. Cabezas just laughed it off. "Man, that didn't hurt me at all. In fact, it just added to the credibility of the community movement," he said in an interview.

The Directorate finally arranged for his group to receive clean milk.

For many rural villagers, the Sandinista front brought the rule by fiat of young, tough militants who were slow to resolve workday problems of small-town life but quick to condemn doubting peasants as contras and CIA spies. At least 7,000 peasant farmers passed through Sandinista jails on suspicion of being contras, and the majority of 20,000 Nicaraguans who joined the contras were the poorest of peasants.

The Sandinista front provides some of its own with material benefits outsiders cannot enjoy.

In Managua, Sandinista front members shop at separate department stores and gas stations. The party helps members get medical treatment in Cuba and take vaca-

tions on the Black Sea. For ranking officials it maintains lovely weekend retreats on Nicaraguan beaches.

Government and party resources overlap. On the books, government ministers are paid the equivalent of no more than \$50 a month, but their expenses are covered from state budgets. They ride in state cars. The Agrarian Reform Ministry built a sports club for its Sandinista staff.

Meanwhile, economic measures have reduced other Nicaraguans to bare subsistence. Even many thousands of committed Sandinistas live in destitution.

Veronica Jimenez, 27, has responded to every demand the Sandinista front made.

"I never said no," she said of her combat performance as a guerrilla in 1979. In 1982 she fought in malaria swamps against the first bands of contras. She helped string the first telephone line across Nicaragua, braving contras' ambushes. She has been repeatedly named "most exceptional worker" by the Sandinista front committee at her job.

After a decade of this dedication, she is being paid the equivalent of \$12 a month working a midnight-to-dawn shift as a phone operator. She said she sleeps in brief fits in order to care for her three children. Her teeth need repair.

"Getting rid of Somoza was easy," she said. "Every year since then has been so hard. I'm a Sandinista, but I'm not a romantic. I just hope we don't lose the government."

The U.S. ambassador, William J. Walker, said Mr. Cristiani had assured him that the government had "no intention to muzzle the press" and that "freedom of the press would reign here."

Western legal scholars note that some parts of the legislation to which the critics object are already on the books and that the package of proposals merely rewards the laws and increases the penalties.

The rebel cause has been undermined in recent years by a gradual drop in the harshness of repression and a steady increase in the tolerance for dissent. Despite some recalcitrance, rightist leaders, who in the past used death squads to settle arguments, have allowed leftist politicians to return from exile and now debate their ideological rivals on television.

## El Salvador Proposes Tighter Reins on Dissent

By Lindsey Gruson

New York Times Service

SAN SALVADOR — In its first major legislative initiative, El Salvador's month-old rightist government has introduced broad legal measures that would crack down on dissent and peaceful means of protest.

If approved by the government-controlled legislature, the changes would make it a crime, punishable by a long prison term, to lobby international organizations to denounce human rights violations, or to possess or distribute information that "subverts the public order."

The proposed changes would also outlaw many forms of nonviolent protest and "acts that affect" international relations.

Critics have charged that the legislation could be used to imprison

journalists who criticize the government or report on the anti-government rebels as well as to stop sit-down strikes and peaceful demonstrations.

Although not directly comparable, the measures appear broader and more restrictive than internationally condemned curbs imposed on the press and the opposition by the governments of South Africa and Nicaragua, said Joel Solomon, an associate with the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, a nonprofit press advocacy group that has protested the legislation.

The package has added to evidence that the government of President Alfredo Cristiani is controlled by rightist extremists, who hold major posts in the internal security apparatus, and has deepened doubts about its commitment to

democracy. Critics said the legislation would give new legitimacy to the rebels.

Whether the administration will push the changes through the legislature remains unclear. Some officials said they were not dead set against some changes. But the measures appear to have the support of hard-liners.

Officials of the governing Republican Nationalist Alliance, known as Arena, which introduced the package of proposed changes into the legislature last month, said they were needed to stop rising crime and guerrilla terrorism.

In the preamble to the legislation, the government said the changes were needed to combat "frequent acts of barbaric terrorism, especially the assassination of distinguished citizens, that are driving El Salvador into chaos in an

attempt to install a totalitarian system against our democratic calling."

But the legislation has been denounced as an undemocratic attempt to prevent leftist organizing and to muzzle all criticism of the party, which includes some of the country's most extreme rightists.

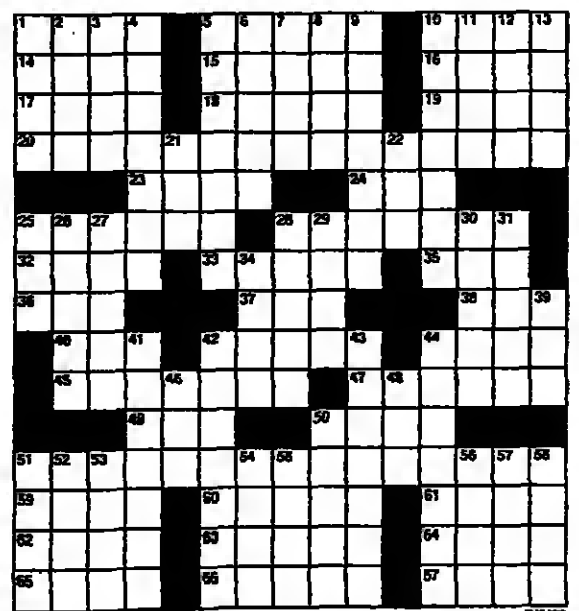
"The new anti-terrorist legislation is a fascist project," the Christian Democratic Party said last week. Dr. Segundo Montes, director of the Institute of Human Rights and the University of Central America in San Salvador, said, "I think Arena has a project of repression. They know they can't apply the rampant repression of the 1980s. Since they can't do it in a bestial way, they do it in a legal way. And to do it in a legal way, they need a new instrument."

The U.S. ambassador, William J. Walker, said Mr. Cristiani had assured him that the government had "no intention to muzzle the press" and that "freedom of the press would reign here."

- ACROSS**
- 1 Beach-party edible
  - 5 Cousins of plerone
  - 10 Sunbathers' aims
  - 14 Sharpen
  - 15 Triple Crown winner 1935
  - 16 Boal or stole
  - 17 Playwrights' innings
  - 18 Having an edge in experience
  - 19 New Rochelle institution
  - 20 George H. Ruth
  - 21 Sale words
  - 24 Goodball
  - 25 Kind of mash or lent
  - 28 Rumble, slay
  - 32 Unshackle
  - 33 Nive side dish
  - 35 Pl. follower
  - 36 Gaelic rap
  - 37 Washington note
- DOWN**
- 1 Causerie
  - 2 Lake, to a Scot

## Solution to Previous Puzzle

JULY 4 BANG 1778  
ARIES ARBO SAME  
ISAAC RIDE IGOR  
NARROWNESS DEPS  
ROSS BLESS  
GOFFER DYED  
AMER SOAR UNAPT  
INDEPENDENCE DAY  
NISEN LODI SILK  
AERY CASTLE  
PETRO LIEN  
ORAL CHERRYBOMB  
VISA KOTO WADER  
ACES EBON ARENA  
LEST TONY YEAST



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- 3 Bellum beginning
- 4 Knockdown pitch, in baseball jargon
- 5 Engine covering
- 6 Releases
- 7 Voyager agency
- 8 At that moment
- 9 Polynesians skirts
- 10 Prairie penit
- 11 How bench jockeys might sit
- 12 Wendy Darling's pooch
- 13 Lovers quarrel
- 21 Purpose
- 22 Kolinsky or chinchilla
- 25 "— in the Stilly Night," T. Moore poem
- 26 Diagnostic aids
- 27 Sana's locale
- 28 Jordanian dollar
- 29 Columnist's detail
- 30 Ventriiloquist Lewis
- 31 Capital of Bulgaria
- 34 Kyle or Tobin of the gridiron
- 39 Diaper wafer
- 41 Moved quickly from side to side
- 42 Bent over
- 43 Brung's joy
- 44 Mediterranean gull
- 45 Hannibal, to Scipio Africanus
- 46 Electrical meas.
- 50 Rome has seven
- 51 "Now hear —"
- 52 Trunk fastener
- 53 Singer Fitzgerald
- 54 Bring up
- 55 Sign of a challenge
- 58 Light, unsubstantial
- 57 Canadian aborigine
- 58 Take advice seriously







# South Korea: Tussling With Democracy

## New Freedoms Put Economic Miracle to Test

By Peter Leyden and David Bank

**S**EOUL—Less than a year after South Korea heralded its spectacular economic achievements at the Seoul Olympics, Koreans speak gravely about their economic crisis.

Unrelenting wage demands and crippling labor strife, accompanied by drops in economic growth and exports, have government officials and businessmen anxiously warning that the nation will sink into stagflation and international decline.

"Many people think this is a historical turning point," said Kim Chong-soo, a government economic adviser at the Korea Development

as a crisis, some foreign observers see instead an inevitable structural change from a high-growth, export-led economy to a more developed high-tech economy with a diversified domestic market and full integration into the international economy.

"It's like going through the aggression of puberty to the maturity of young adulthood," said Alan Plumb, a British banker who has been in South Korea for 10 years. "I don't see it as an out-of-control crisis."

Nevertheless, for the first time, government officials have seriously considered violating the unwritten contract of "Korea Inc."—which is that no major company goes bankrupt and no mass of workers goes unemployed.

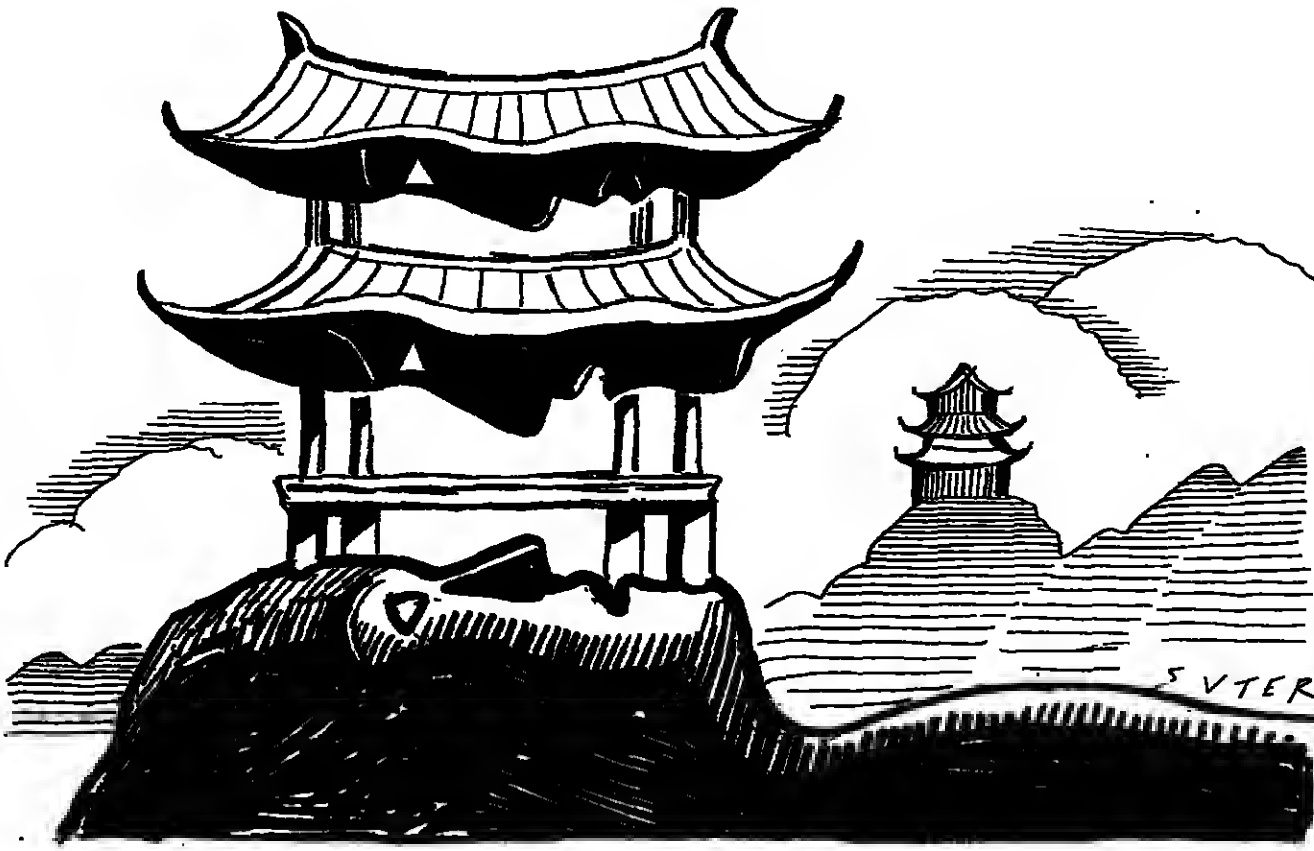
They say such a disaster would force labor to moderate wage demands and the public to face the depth of the crisis.

"Without such a shock, no one will understand what bankruptcy means," said Sun Joon Yung, director of the international trade bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "That may prove to be an invaluable lesson to all persons involved, both workers and management."

Daewoo Shipbuilding & Heavy Machinery Ltd., the second largest of the nation's four shipbuilding firms, provided the perfect opportunity throughout June. The government had built up the firm in the 1970s to help develop the nation's base of heavy industry. However, the company was never managed well and took on heavy debt.

Early this year, the government agreed to a \$600 million bailout provided that labor held the line on wage increases for the year to give the company time to recover. Workers promptly demanded a 55

Continued on page 8



## Labor Unrest, the Price of Success

By Liz McGregor

**S**EOUL—Lee Sang Mo doused himself in alcohol and kerosene, set himself on fire and leaped out of a seven-story hotel window. He died 20 minutes later, leaving a suicide note that read: "Workers will always be slaves if the employers oppress them."

Mr. Lee, 20, was the second Daewoo shipyard worker in a week last May to immolate himself over the deadlock in wage negotiations. The two suicides set off a wave of unrest at the debt-ridden shipyard. After protracted negotiations, workers again voted on June 22 to strike, despite threats that Daewoo would shut down the shipyard if they did.

South Korea is finally paying the price for its economic boom of the past three years. Workers, feeling that it is true that they had a share of the pie after decades of sacrifice in the interests of national development, have won an

average 16 percent wage increase each year for the past two years.

This year was no exception. By mid-June, there had been 1,061 strikes, and \$4.5 billion in lost production during the first five months of this year. Analysts say that because none of the underlying causes has been dealt with, the negotiations next year could be just as traumatic.

In addition to wage and union recognition disputes, the Korean economy is being transformed from a low-wage labor intensive industry to a high-tech one with a decline in the traditional shoe, garment and toy industries and a big increase in microchips.

The consequent relocation and retraining of large numbers of workers is exacerbated by an uncertain political climate. The authoritarian regimes which for decades repressed workers' demands have given way to a government that has stepped out of the ring altogether and has left management and workers to resolve their differences themselves. The result has been frequent, often bloody, confrontations.

"What we need is a Margaret Thatcher," said Chung Hoon Mok, president of Hyundai Engineering and Construction Company. "Lack of good labor negotiations and excessive wage demands have slowed down new investments and cut our international competitive position. The situation is much more serious than it appears."

In fact, a strike at the Hyundai shipyard in the southern port of Ulsan in March was put down with a combined air, sea and land attack on strikers by about 10,000 troops.

Industrial strife is relatively new to South Korea. From 1981 to 1985, there were only 100 strikes a year. In 1986, there were 276. But it was in 1987 that the number of strikes mushroomed — to 3,008. That was the year of the people's uprising against the authoritarian government of former President Chun Doo Hwan and the first tentative steps toward democratization of his successor, Roh Tae Woo.

In August alone there were 2,552 strikes.

Continued on page 9

## Liberalization Underlines Gap In Generations

### Young Grew Up in Prosperity Built by Once-Poor Parents

By John Gittelsohn

**S**EOUL—At schools across this city, parents have done the unthinkable: wrestling and showing children who were trying to study. The parents wanted a boycott of classes and demanded that some teachers be fired for spreading "leftist ideology" while trying to organize a trade union.

On June 14 at Seoul's Kuro High School, two 17-year-old students took a suicidal leap from a classroom window to protest oppression of their teachers' union. The boys survived, but their plunge further dramatized the deep and confusing conflicts dividing South Korea.

Teachers, among the most revered of professionals in this education-conscious society, are the latest group to fight for what they see as a democratic right to unionize. But many parents, as well as the government, view the organization as a threat to social order.

"Our long cultural tradition denies the teachers a trade union," President Roh Tae Woo said. "Such a situation can only make people feel uneasy."

Two years ago, pro-democracy demonstrations swept South Korea. Instead of resorting to its old course of ordering troops to crush the rebellion—as the Chinese did in Beijing last month—Mr. Roh, then the presidential candidate of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, pledged to enact sweeping democratic reforms. He narrowly won an open election in December 1987.

Now, South Koreans are grappling with what democracy means. As the teachers' union dispute illustrates, democracy means different things to different people. A recent Gallup poll found that nine out of 10 South Koreans felt insecure about the political situation. But they split almost evenly over whether Mr. Roh was too tolerant or too repressive.

Burdened by his close connections to the disgraced regime of ex-President Chun Doo Hwan, Mr. Roh has been unable to forge a strong mandate to guide the nation.

"There are few leaders left with real authority, who people listen to out of hand," a Western diplomat said. "Certainly the government isn't one of them."

Much of the distrust represents South Korea's version of a generation gap. Young South Koreans were reared amid an expanding, prosperous economy built by parents familiar with hunger and poverty.

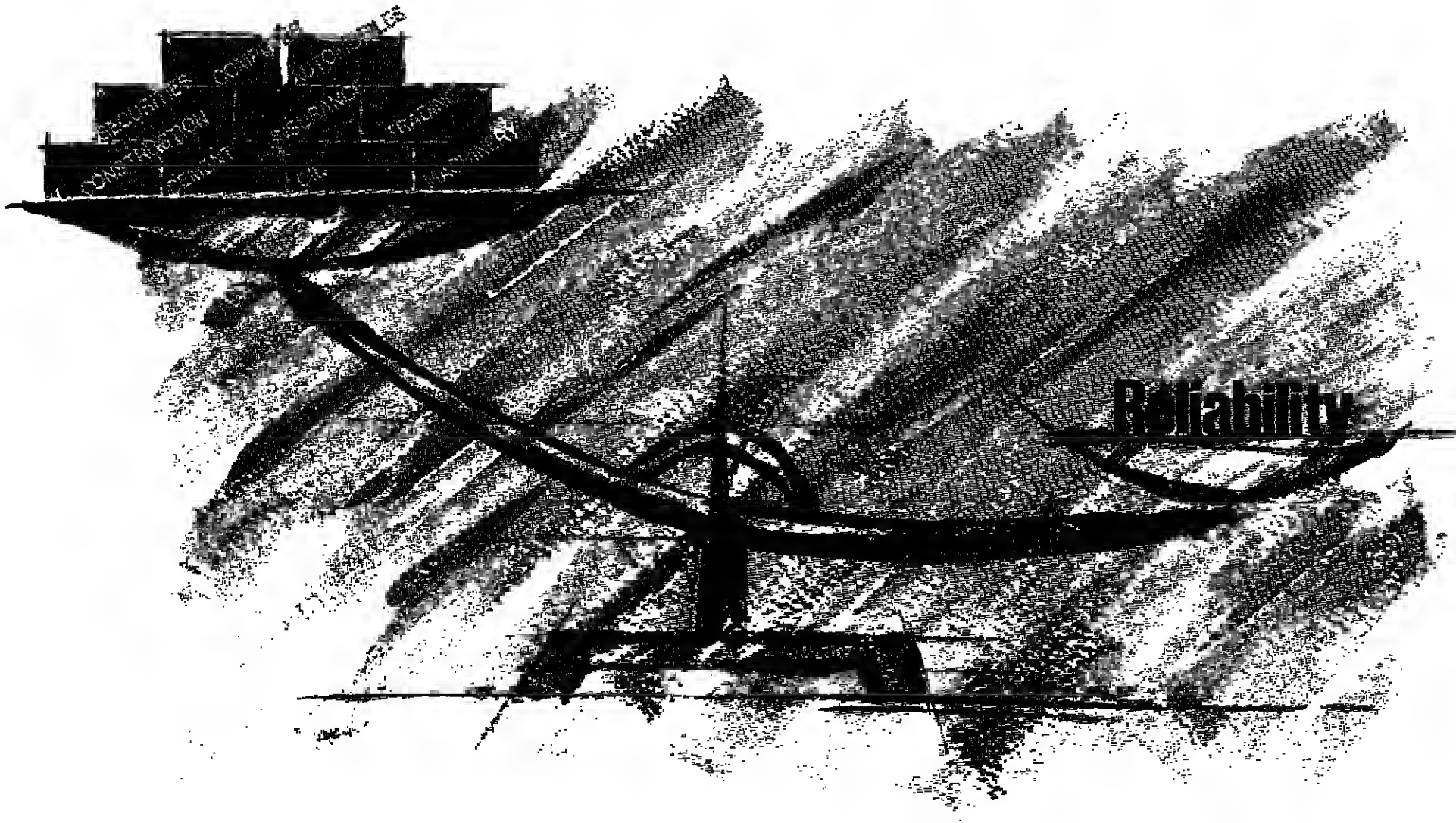
Older South Koreans recall with horror the invasion from the communist north and regard the United States as a savior. But as they chant "Yankee Go Home," the two-thirds of the population born since the 1950-1953 Korean War often look upon the "North Korean threat" as an example of the old dictatorship's propaganda.

Businessmen face a similar credibility gap. South Korea has been called a model of economic development, but now it is witnessing the crumbling of "Korea Inc.," the collective will that

Continued on page 8



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## South Korea: Tussling With Democracy / A Special Report

## Farmers Embittered By Low Prices and Debt

By John Gittelsohn

**K**YEONGRI — Trouble began for Kim Joo Ho when a government agriculture agent advised him to raise silkworms. At the same time, the expert recommended a new pesticide for his rice paddies that killed the worms. To compensate for the dead worms, the government offered Mr. Kim 1 million won (\$1,500 at current exchange rates). There was one catch, though. Mr. Kim had to spend the money to begin a dairy.

The year was 1983, the peak of a campaign to make the countryside rich off milk and meat. The scheme lined the pockets of cattle dealers. But for Mr. Kim's farm, 60 miles southwest of Seoul, it was a bum steer.

The campaign gutted the cattle market. The value of Mr. Kim's herd plummeted as his debts rose.

To shore up sagging meat and cattle prices, South Korea cut off all foreign beef imports in 1985. But just as his cows are about to earn their keep, Mr. Kim, 41, sees a renewed threat of financial ruin.

"Things are all right now, but I'm worried about the imports," the farmer said. "It sometimes looks like there's no future in farming."

Millions of South Korean farmers have reached the same conclusion. In 1960, before the nation's

industrial development began, more than three-quarters of South Koreans were rural peasants. Today, less than 20 percent of the nation's 42 million people live in the countryside and 500,000 people migrate to the cities each year.

Those who stay behind are often embittered. They find themselves trapped by filial obligations to tend the ancestral soil or by education too poor to allow a career change.

Their average age is increasing; nearly 60 percent are male. Young

Anger and alienation has been building for years in the countryside.

women move to cities, drawn by the more civilized life and better factory pay. Stories of despairing rural bachelors committing suicide because of failure to wed are regular newspaper fodder.

"When I wanted to get married, it wasn't a problem," said Mr. Kim, a father of four. "Now you have to lie when you go to a matchmaker. If you say you're a farmer, they don't want your business."

Besides the debt incurred from

ill-conceived government improvement schemes, farmers borrow to send their children to the city in the hope that a university degree or office job will ease the family's misery.

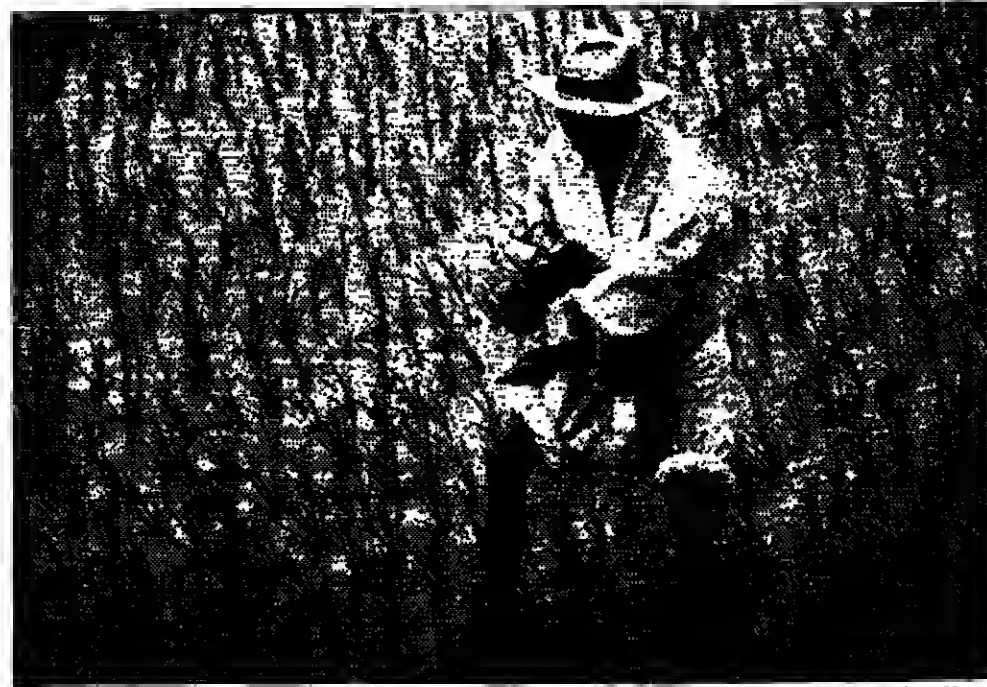
"I don't have a cent now," said Chang Sok Kon, 53, a rice farmer who borrowed \$8,000 to pay college tuition for his two sons. "I've had such a hard time, I can't let them come back. My only hope out of here is my sons."

By historical standards, farmers have profited from South Korea's economic development. Their poverty is relative rather than real. Tractors, telephones, refrigerators and televisions are common on farms once thought fortunate to own a single ox.

On paper, farm incomes are surprisingly close to those in cities. In 1988, the Ministry of Agriculture calculated the average farm family earned \$12,150, while urban households earned \$11,650.

But observers say the statistics are biased, under-reporting city incomes and failing to account for farm debt. They also say farm problems run deeper than money.

"They're living pretty good, but their feelings aren't so good," said Huh Shin Haeng of the Korea Rural Economic Research Institute, a government-financed think-tank. "They feel they've been sacrificing themselves for the growing economy in the rest of the country."



The cultivation of rice paddies is still primarily done by hand.

Anger and alienation has been building for years in the countryside. Riding the national wave of democratization, conservative farmers have recently gone public with their grievances.

To protest low produce prices, they piled bags of red peppers outside government buildings and the homes of opposition party leaders. They marched on the Ministry of Agriculture to demand cuts in irrigation taxes. They tried to storm the U.S. Embassy to demonstrate against American pressure to open Korean agriculture markets.

In February, 12,000 farmers wielding firebombs and bamboo

pikes clashed violently with riot police outside the National Assembly building. More than 100 police and protesters were injured in the melee.

"Politicians were shocked," Mr. Huh said. "It was the first time they really got the message."

The message also appears to have reached Washington, which has quietly conceded that South Korean farmers are not yet ready to completely compete with their American counterparts. After the Seoul government drew the line against more concessions on agriculture imports in April, the U.S. trade representative, Carla Hills,

ceased pressure for further market openings by dropping South Korea from the list of unfair trading nations.

U.S. officials in South Korea are concentrating instead on getting Seoul to comply with the agreements it has already announced. For example, despite South Korea's limited reopening to beef imports last year, Washington has lodged an unfair trade complaint with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

If the spigot of beef imports opens too wide, however, farmers Kim Joo Ho fears his cows could be as valuable as dead worms.

## New Freedoms Test Economic Miracle

Continued from page 7

percent increase in pay and effectively shut down the plant complex. Management then made numerous concessions to avoid a general strike and finally approved an agreement for a 24 percent wage increase with union negotiators. After union leaders initially rejected the arrangement, workers voted for the contract and returned to work.

Government officials had privately said that the sick company should go out of business for economic reasons — and up to the last, the government was prepared to bear the political consequences of allowing 12,000 Daewoo workers and 7,000 workers in related firms to lose their jobs. In the end, some officials regretted the missed opportunity.

"From the economic point of view we want a bankruptcy — not from the political point of view," said Mr. Suh, before the vote.

At the heart of the matter are huge rises in labor costs and continual disruption of industry.

In the first five months of this year, average wages for Korean manufacturers rose more than 18 percent. In the last three years, wages have risen 62.5 percent, outpacing competitors like Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong.

As of mid-June, 1,061 labor disputes had erupted, compared to a total of 276 for the entire year of 1986, the year before democratization. Strikes accounted for about \$4.5 billion in lost production during the first five months of this year.

The whole economy has been affected. After three successive years of unparalleled 12 percent growth in GNP, South Korea had 5.7 percent growth in the first quarter this year. For the same period last year, the rate was 14.6 percent.

Export growth in the first five months of the year was only 6.7 percent in dollar terms, less than a quarter of the 29.6 percent for that period in 1988. The volume of exports actually declined by 4.3 percent.

Investment in machinery, which provides the foundation for future growth, was stagnant. Growth in machinery investment for the first quarter was 2.1 percent, compared with 16.7 percent for the same period in 1988 and 25 percent for that period in 1987.

Inflation and unemployment are creeping up. The stock market has fallen in recent weeks. Real estate speculation is rampant.

This situation is part of the price that South Korea must pay for the

breakneck economic development of the previous two decades, said Lee

Kye Sik, senior counselor to the minister of economic planning.

**T**HE OLYMPIC celebration of South Korea's advance into the

rank of the more developed world was deserved. South Korea

now ranks 13th in the world for total trade, combining exports

and imports, according to 1987 World Bank figures. Its GNP

ranked 17th for that year.

But inequalities and imbalances built up during that time and must be

worked out between workers and managers, between urban and rural

areas, and between different regions of the country.

"The democratization process is some sort of people's complaint

about these imbalances and inequalities," said Mr. Lee. "We are going to

have one or two years of this agonizing process."

On top of that, the economy is being restructured on several levels. It is

becoming more integrated into the international economy by making it

often painful liberalization of its markets.

Using the threat of putting South Korea on the hit list of unfair traders

this spring, the United States forced it into reluctantly opening more

markets. The won has appreciated more than 27 percent since 1987 due

to strong pressure from the United States.

South Korea also is expanding its domestic market. Private consump-

tion rose 10.3 percent in the first quarter this year following steady

growth for the last three years.

Imports of consumer goods sharply increased this year. In the first

four months, imports rose 19.4 percent over a year ago.

Essentially, South Korea is restructuring its labor relations and its

economy just as European countries and the United States did in earlier

periods. But it is telescoping decades into years.

**PETER LEYDEN and DAVID BANK, journalists based in Seoul, are**

special correspondents for Newsday and contribute frequently to Newsweek.

## Liberalization Underlines Gap in Generations

Continued from page 7

powered its emergence as Asia's second largest industrial power, behind Japan.

Investors are putting less money into new factories while speculating more in real estate and the stock market. The capitalists' wealth has widened disparities in income, fueling resentment among workers and farmers who feel they sacrificed for the country's economic progress but are reaping too few of its benefits.

The end of 40 years of authoritarian rule also outmoded the most brutal methods used by business and the government to keep grievances in check. Wage demands by newly empowered unions are undercutting South Korea's international competitiveness — and higher incomes have fueled inflation, offsetting the recent gains. Strikes and the appreciating value of the won have stalled exports.

The trade balance is shifting from black to red.

Economists say South Korea has reached a crossroads, and must address its economic troubles or risk disaster.

"What the government is trying to say," said Han Seung Soo, the minister of trade and industry, "is you have to wait for the fruit to ripen before you eat it."

Yet the people are tired of waiting. Labor disputes have spread from blue- to white-collar workers at banks, hospitals and newspapers. Farmers have taken to the streets demanding higher produce prices and opposing agricultural imports. Even riot police, the law enforcers with the Samurai helmets and gas masks, have marched for better working conditions.

The political and economic changes are the surface of an underlying social transformation. Rapid industrialization and urbanization have eroded centuries-old Confucian values that fostered harmonious social relations by commanding respect for parents, teachers and kings. Some blame the current rash of conflict on the entrenched powers' refusal to recognize these changes.

"Those in the establishment are very smug," said Ahn Byung Man, professor of political science at Hankook University of Foreign Studies. "As a result, it works against stability and development and economic prosperity."

But many say the protests have gone too far. Workers are demanding a say in management deci-

Even riot police have marched for better working conditions.

sions as well as 50 percent pay raises. Pro-North Korean radicals have seized control of student movements at many universities.

The most sobering incident occurred in May, when seven riot policemen burned to death after protesting students set fire to a campus library in Pusan.

"Dictatorship was a good thing to challenge," said Park Chong Soo, a ruling-party lawmaker. "But now it's so free, they're becoming too extreme. They're trying to destroy the system, but they're going to destroy themselves in the end."

Still others say the problems are exaggerated. They are optimistic that the country can middle through its current challenges, finding a Korean-style balance between freedom and responsibility.

Compared to the unrest in South Korea's recent past — or the turmoil in neighboring China — the country seems almost a model of political development.

"Really, all they have to do is stop the car from crashing," a Western diplomat said, "and eventually they'll be all right."

**JOHN GITTELSON, a Seoul-based journalist, contributes to The Times of London and The Boston Globe.**

## Chun's Shadow Haunts Politics

By John Gittelsohn

**I**N A REMOTE mountain valley beside a babbling brook lies Paikdamsa, the temple of 100 ponds. The 16th-century Buddhist monastery is the home of the disgraced former president, Chun Doo Hwan, who went into exile there in November amid public outrage over the corruption and repression of his 1980-88 Fifth Republic.

Mr. Chun lives with his wife and a half-dozen monks — far from the halls of power. However, his shadow still hangs over national politics.

Before going into exile, Mr. Chun made a dramatic televised apology to the Korean people. He was also granted amnesty by his successor and longtime friend, President Roh Tae Woo.

However, this did not satisfy his critics, who want Mr. Chun to testify publicly about the misdeeds of his administration.

Opposition politicians as well as a half-dozen aides to the former president, some of whom still hold key positions in the government, to be punished. They say that suspicious about the current government cannot be put to rest



President Roh Tae Woo

and achieve true democracy achieved until the full truth of Mr. Chun's crimes come to light.

"The evil spirits of the previous era are still hanging around," said Moon Dong Hwan, an opposition lawmaker. "We need an exorcism. We need to expel them. It hasn't been done."

The darkest stain in Mr. Chun's past is the suppression of the May 1980 uprising in the southwestern city of Kwangju, where paratroopers sent to enforce martial law killed 195 people by official count.

The action paved the way for Mr. Chun's ascent to power.

To many South Koreans, the army's use of force permanently undermined Mr. Chun's legitimacy. The repression also sowed seeds of anti-Americanism. Many Koreans blame the United States for failing to stop the massacre and condemn Washington for supporting Mr. Chun after his coup.

While insisting on his determination to eradicate South Korea's authoritarian legacy, Mr. Roh has demanded leniency for Mr. Chun.

Within Mr. Roh's camp, opinion is divided over how to settle the problems of the past. Some see a full investigation as the only way to gain public support. Others say the bloodletting has gone on long enough.

"If we look more to the future, doubt comes to everyone's minds," said Kim Chang Kim, the ruling party's international affairs director. "Which is wiser, the troublesome testimony or to smooth it over for a more harmonious politics in the future?"

Independent investigations into the Chun administration by the opposition-dominated National Assembly have been frustrated by President Roh and his ruling Democratic Justice Party. Mr. Roh was Mr. Chun's military academy classmate, a key player in Mr. Chun's military coup and his handpicked successor.

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## Post-Olympics: A 'Me-First' Attitude

**S**EOUL — Rising just a few blocks from Seoul's Olympic Complex on a plot of land three times as big as the 50,000-seat Olympic Stadium, is Lotte World, the last major construction project associated with the 1988 Games in Seoul.

The center contains a shopping mall that can accommodate 60,000 shoppers, a 535-room luxury hotel, a swimming club with eight pools, a parking lot for 5,400 cars, a folk village, a wedding hall, an ice rink, a 26-lane bowling alley and Lotte World Adventure, the world's largest indoor amusement park, which will open July 12.

In many ways, the complex embodies this city's Olympic aspirations and problems. Detractors say its wedding cake architecture is kitsch and describe its virtually limitless shopping outlets as base appeals to conspicuous consumption.

The developers see it as the wave of the future. Yuchiro Watabiki, executive director of the project which was developed by the Japanese-Korean firm Lotte Hotel Co., enthused about the Lotte World Adventure. "We've got a great concept. There's no such facility in the world," he said. He believes his firm will get the return on its investment in five years.

When Seoul won the right to host the 1988 Olympics, it noted that the 1964 Tokyo Games marked Japan's rise as a world economic power. Now, people worry about Seoul's "Tokyoization," that is, they worry about pollution, urban sprawl and skyrocketing real estate prices.

"The 88 Olympics made Seoul more of a primary city," said Zo Kim Yung, a member of a group of dissident architects and urban planners unhappy with the city's development.

"That means the disparities between Seoul and other cities are deepening."

Seoul, with a population of 10 million, is already home to a quarter of the nation's population packed into just 0.6 percent of the country's land area. The city has 60 percent of the nation's wealth, 85 percent of its public buildings, nearly half of its cars and its best universities.

Since the Olympics, the city has seen an unprecedented spending boom. Housing costs have soared. Land values in Seoul south of the Han River rose 30 percent in the first three months of 1989. And last year, the number of share holders on the stock exchange doubled.

Sales of luxury goods and services are rocketing. Cosmetic surgery — skin bleaching, widened eyes and sharpened noses — has become common among wealthy young women who wear the latest fashions imported from Europe and the United States. Textile imports from Italy rose 166 percent from January to April.

**T**HERE has also been a boom in car sales. In the first five months of this year, domestic auto sales jumped 33 percent while exports tumbled by the same rate. More new foreign cars were sold in the first five months of 1989 than all of last year. And most were Mercedes-Benzes.

With 500 new cars joining the city's vehicle population each day, problems of air pollution and traffic congestion have increased significantly.

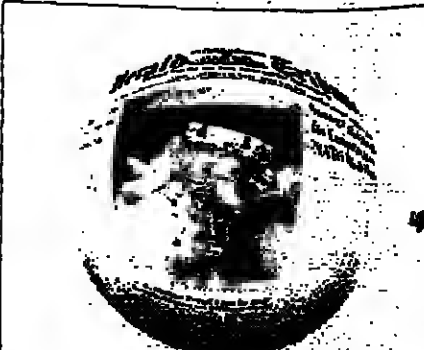
All the shopping has contributed to the shift from surplus toward deficit in the nation's balance of trade. It has also inflamed resentment among the poor as the rich flaunt their money.

As a result, opinion leaders are urging the wealthy to pursue more frugal lifestyles.

"Our society is now plagued by the me-first attitude that turns its back against the plight of the needy and destitute," the independent Dong-A Ilbo newspaper editorialized. "We must certainly watch out for an environment where consumption is regarded as a prime virtue in life in total disregard to the social climate."

But such exhortations seemed like lost voices in the urban wilds as Lotte World Adventure prepared for its gala opening. Workers put the last touches on the roller coaster that some feared would rattle the glass-domed park to pieces in a few years. And dozens of dancers rehearsed the costumed Disney-style parades they plan to perform daily before hundreds of thousands of fun-seekers.

John Gittelsohn



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## South Korea: Tussling With Democracy / A Special Report

Nordpolitik:  
An Opening  
To Ex-Foes

By Peter Maass

**S**EOUL — While the United States and most of its allies were strongly criticizing the Chinese government for its bloody crackdown against pro-democracy students, South Korea remained oddly silent. Known as a bastion of anti-communism, South Korea only belatedly released a brief statement that lightly chided China's leaders.

South Korea's reluctance to criticize Beijing stems from its new effort to establish ties with the Communist bloc nations that, until recently, were its implacable foes. The détente with China, Moscow and the East European nations has now become much more important for Seoul, politically and economically, than the virulent anti-communism that formed its ideological backbone until just a year ago.

Seoul's effort to reach out to former foes has prompted a virtual revolution in its relations with the socialist bloc.

Earlier this year, Hungary became the first communist nation to establish full diplomatic relations with Seoul. Other East European nations are expected to follow suit. Yugoslavia and Poland, which have already exchanged trade offices with Seoul, are next in line.

Moscow and Beijing are not expected to fully recognize South Korea for some time, but their trade with Seoul has jumped in the past year as political and cultural exchanges become the norm.

President Roh Tae Woo calls the détente that he formally began in July 1988 Nordpolitik — a South Korean version of West Germany's successful Ostpolitik. The process was helped immensely by the Olympic Games that were held in Seoul in 1988. The Games opened up a plethora of new contacts with former enemies — although not North Korea which boycotted the Olympics — and gave South Koreans the impression that the time had indeed come to step out of their decades-old diplomatic isolation.

Glasnost, the policy of openness initiated by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, played a key role by loosening the bonds that have tied Moscow and its allies to hard-line North Korea.

But the diplomatic inroads were also helped by Seoul's transition to democracy, which began in 1987 and has given the government a softer, more respectful look.

Still, the Nordpolitik has failed, so far, in a central area: relations with North Korea. After a hiatus of several years, talks between the two sides resumed last year but were suspended a few months ago, ostensibly because North Korea objected to South Korea's annual military maneuvers with the United States. Although the talks should resume soon, few experts expect any substantial change between the two sides. Suspicion and hostility on both sides remain too high, most experts believe, for any breakthrough to occur soon.

Still, Seoul hopes that its inroads with North Korea's allies will jolt Kim Il Sung, the North Korean leader, into becoming more flexible.

That may be wishful thinking. In fact, some experts warn, the exact opposite could take place. Even if a North Korean softening occurs, hardliners in the South Korean government would then need to show a corresponding degree of flexibility. When or if that moment of truth arrives, it remains to be seen whether the hardliners, particularly in the military, would match their words of détente with deeds of friendship.



Soldier at the DMZ line.

Although Nordpolitik's political payoff in relations with Pyongyang may be a long way off, economic benefits in trade with communist countries are cropping up.

Until last year, trade with China was indirect and secret. Exchanges of South Korean consumer goods for Chinese coal and raw materials were conducted discreetly through third countries, such as Hong Kong. Now, the trade is open and increasing — at least until the martial-law crackdown. By soft-pedaling its opposition to the killings of pro-democracy students, South Korea clearly hopes to maintain its fragile contacts with China.

Both the government and the private sector will keep making efforts to develop relations with China," said Foreign Minister Choi Ho Joong in a speech on June 20. "Business-as-usual is our basic posture towards Beijing."

Thanks to the relative political stability in Moscow, Seoul's ties with the Soviet Union are moving ahead at a more balanced pace. The opposition leader Kim Young Sam visited Moscow in June and met with Soviet officials in the first high-level political contacts between the two countries.

Mr. Kim, one of the "three Kims" of South Korea's opposition, also had a surprise meeting in Moscow with a senior North Korean official, Ho Dam. This was another sign of the dramatic spinoffs that Seoul is reaping from its openings to Moscow and Beijing, which have been North Korea's main arms suppliers.

Officials in South Korea want the contacts to go much further, dreaming of the day when Moscow and Beijing will agree to establish full diplomatic ties. From South Korea's perspective, this would mark the seal of global legitimacy that it has sought since rival Korean governments were set up in Seoul and Pyongyang several years after World War II.

But that day appears to be far away. Following the Tiananmen Square massacre, Beijing has moved away from the kind of reforms that would have brought it closer to South Korea and further away from Stalinist North Korea. And even with reforms continuing in Moscow, the strategic importance of North Korea, which has borders with both the Soviet Union and China, would appear to rule out any break with Kim Il Sung's government.

PETER MAASS is a special correspondent for The Washington Post based in Seoul.

## Evictions Threaten the Poverty-Stricken

Seoul's Renewal Forces  
Thousands From HomesBy Peter Leyden  
and David Bank

**S**EOUL — An eerie silence filled the valley of concrete rubble like the sound of a valley of death after a bomb strike. Heaps and heaps of smashed tiles and crumbled concrete stood where homes had stood just months ago. Roads that recently had snaked past busy shops and front doors now lay exposed to view. A lone child meandered through abandoned piles of trash.

"This is complete wanton waste," said Joe Maier, a Catholic priest working with the urban poor in Bangkok as he surveyed the ruins of an urban renewal area in Sadang-dong in South Seoul.

"No matter how rich a country is, they can't afford to destroy all this cement, all this work, all these homes," said Father Maier, who had just quietly trudged to the rim of the valley with a group of housing activists who had gathered from throughout Asia.

Said a befuddled Bill Keyes, who builds houses for the poor in Manila: "This was the kind of housing the rest of the world is trying to build."

Finding a good home and keeping it is an arduous task for the urban poor of Seoul. Already crowded into small houses that cling to the hills of the city and sharing a home with two or more families, the urban poor have spent the last several years fighting off brutal evictions.

Since 1983 when the city began a massive Joint Redevelopment Program, developers have overhauled 66 of the 216 targeted areas and 52 are now being developed.

About 138,000 people already have been forced off the land and about 220,000 are in the process of being removed, according to government figures.

Contributing to the evictions are private developers and landowners who want a share of the huge profits to be made in real estate. Land prices rose 27 percent in 1988 and large apartments in Seoul's exclusive Kangnam district have tripled in price in three years to about \$500,000. Speculation is now rampant.

However, the brutality of some evictions and the determined resistance by the urban poor have recently caught the attention of the public. Given the atmosphere of democratization of the last two years, the government was forced to temporarily suspend the program at the end of last year.

To supplement it, the National Assembly recently approved a new home improvement program that doles out up

to \$4,500 to a family improving their own home in targeted areas.

"We didn't want to demolish any more housing in town," said Kim Jeong Ho, who works for the government's Korea Research Institute for Human Settlement and who was an architect of the new program. "You can't demolish any more housing — that's the only place they can live."

The Sadang-dong project was one of the last to get started, beginning with evictions and demolition in December. The project will build a complex of about 30 high-rise apartment buildings. Although one of the biggest projects, it is typical.

Most of the 2,500 poor families had lived in old but solid single-story houses with tiled roofs. A family of five survives on about \$450 a month with the men usually working as day laborers and the women working as street vendors or something similar.

Many have fled from rural areas to the city in search of better jobs and better educations for their children.

Now about 330 families in Sadang-dong cling to what is left of their homes on the edges of the valley. They refuse to accept the \$1,200 offered to them to relocate and they fight things that are sent to scare them off.

"We don't need money. We need a place to live," said Im Yong Gil, the leader of the remaining community.

The government reports that 2 million units of housing will be built by 1992. They will help fund 600,000 of those units for lower- and middle-income families at a cost of about \$5 billion.

About 250,000 of those will go to families earning less than \$350 per month and 80,000 of those are targeted for Seoul. The city's urban poor population is estimated at about 2 million and that of South Korea at about 6 million, according to the government. Seoul's squatters are estimated at 600,000.

"The public housing is far short of actual needs," said Kwam Tae Joon, a urban planner at the prestigious Seoul National University.

The developers are much more interested in building the more lucrative housing for upper middle-income families, particularly through the joint redevelopment program.

The program joins the city, developers, and home and landowners in a lucrative partnership with incentives for all parties.

The developers sell off at market prices about one third of the apartment units they build. The city boosts taxes on the property and cleans up rundown neighborhoods. The homeowners have an option to move into the new units and the owners of surrounding land profit from the gentrification.

The only losers are the tenants, who do not have the money to buy into the new apartments. And they are not given nearly enough relocation money to find another home.



Seoul's massive program of redevelopment has sent real estate prices skyrocketing.

So the former tenants crowd into squatter settlements in the land remaining to be developed. The areas are called "Moon Towns" because they usually are up on the slopes of hills — the highest points of Seoul.

Now the tenants fight with small landowners who want to get a piece of Seoul's booming housing market by reclaiming even the Moon Towns and building small apartment units. With scarce open land and an average of about one housing unit for every two families, Seoul's housing prices are skyrocketing.

The small landowners, rather than the big developers, are hiring the thugs to intimidate and aid in evictions.

In one such attempt in the middle of June, about a dozen thugs armed with sledgehammers appeared about 10 A.M. and climbed on the thin roofs of the shacks of a Moon Town in Seocho-dong, near Sadang-dong in south Seoul.

As the women screamed and tried to pull them off, the thugs ripped off the carpet and plastic and smashed through the cheap wood partition for home-made ceilings.

Choi Eui Yong, 45, looked at the heap of junk that only two hours before was her home and said: "We are treated like insects, but we are also Korean people."

## Unrest, the Price of Success

Continued from page 7

Last spring, when the primary thrust was for union recognition, there were 1,008 disputes. The difference between this year and the two preceding years is that other factors have combined to slow down the economy.

"In 1987 it was quite all right. GNP had grown by more than 12 percent and exports increased by 30 percent," said Professor Park Young Ki of the Labor and Management Institute at Seoul's Sogang University. "In 1987, the average number of working days lost per strike was 3.5. By 1988, even though the number of strikes decreased, there were 11 working days lost on average. This year the economic environment is quite different. Instead of the three lows — low wages, low won and low raw material costs — you have three highs."

The Korea Development Institute estimates that the growth rate will slow to 8 percent this year and inflation will rise to 3 percent from 2.7 percent. This has, in turn, boosted domestic consumption, for so long repressed along with wages, by 10 percent.

Management's reaction to the more assertive work force has been to transfer manufacturing bases offshore to low-cost labor countries like Thailand and the Philippines and to switch to more high-tech, labor-saving industries. The consequent increase in unemployment, which is expected to rise 3.5 percent this year from 2.5 percent last year, could further affect social stability.

Workers have fought back with an explosion of new and more radical trade unions. For years the Federation of Korean Trade Unions had a monopoly in the field. In May 1987, there were a total of 400 unions. After June 29 that year, there were 2,700. Most of them rejected the umbrella of the federation, saying it was too conservative to protect workers' interests.

At the end of this month, a new national confederation will be formed which will encompass professionals such as nurses and university staff as well as subway and construction workers.

One reason for the explosiveness of labor disputes is the lack of legislative or administrative adjudicator facilities.

"For years you had a strong authoritarian government sitting on labor," said Mr. Chung. "Then Roh Tae Woo issued his June 29 [1987] declaration of democratization which said: 'Okay, you are on your own, work it out with your managers.' There was no shock absorber. We would have pre-



Plainclothes policemen break up a Seoul sit-in by teachers protesting the crackdown on their union activities.

ferred mandatory adjudication."

So would the unions. "There is no working system to adjudicate disputes," said Harry Kamberis of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute. "The workers need to go on strike to enforce the Labor Standards Law. They can't just call up an inspector to complain if they're not receiving overtime. The government is abdicating its responsibility."

According to Mr. Kamberis, the lack of an objective third party works in the interests of employers, "by staying out of disputes, the government is leaving the employer free to violate the laws."

Mr. Kamberis points to the so-called "save the company squads." These are workers loyal to the company who beat up unionists and strikers. "They are a social evil," he said. "In other countries, anti-union elements don't act against the unionized colleagues because the employer would fire them. Here they are encouraged by the management."

The government, while urging employers to negotiate with their employees, hardly sets a good example. The country's largest employer, it is currently embroiled in a bitter battle with teachers wanting to form a trade union. Declaring that unions are "undignified" for the teachers of the nation's children, the government has arrested, dismissed or disciplined hundreds of teachers, including two who were seized by police from their hospital beds after a hunger strike.

Two Seoul high school students were seriously injured last month after leaping from a third floor classroom window in sympathy with a teacher who had been disciplined for union activities.

"The government's rationale is that teachers are not laborers and

unions go against the value system of a Confucianist society," said Professor Park. "But that is not convincing at all. Teachers are salary earners. The principle of democracy is that everybody should participate in decision-making."

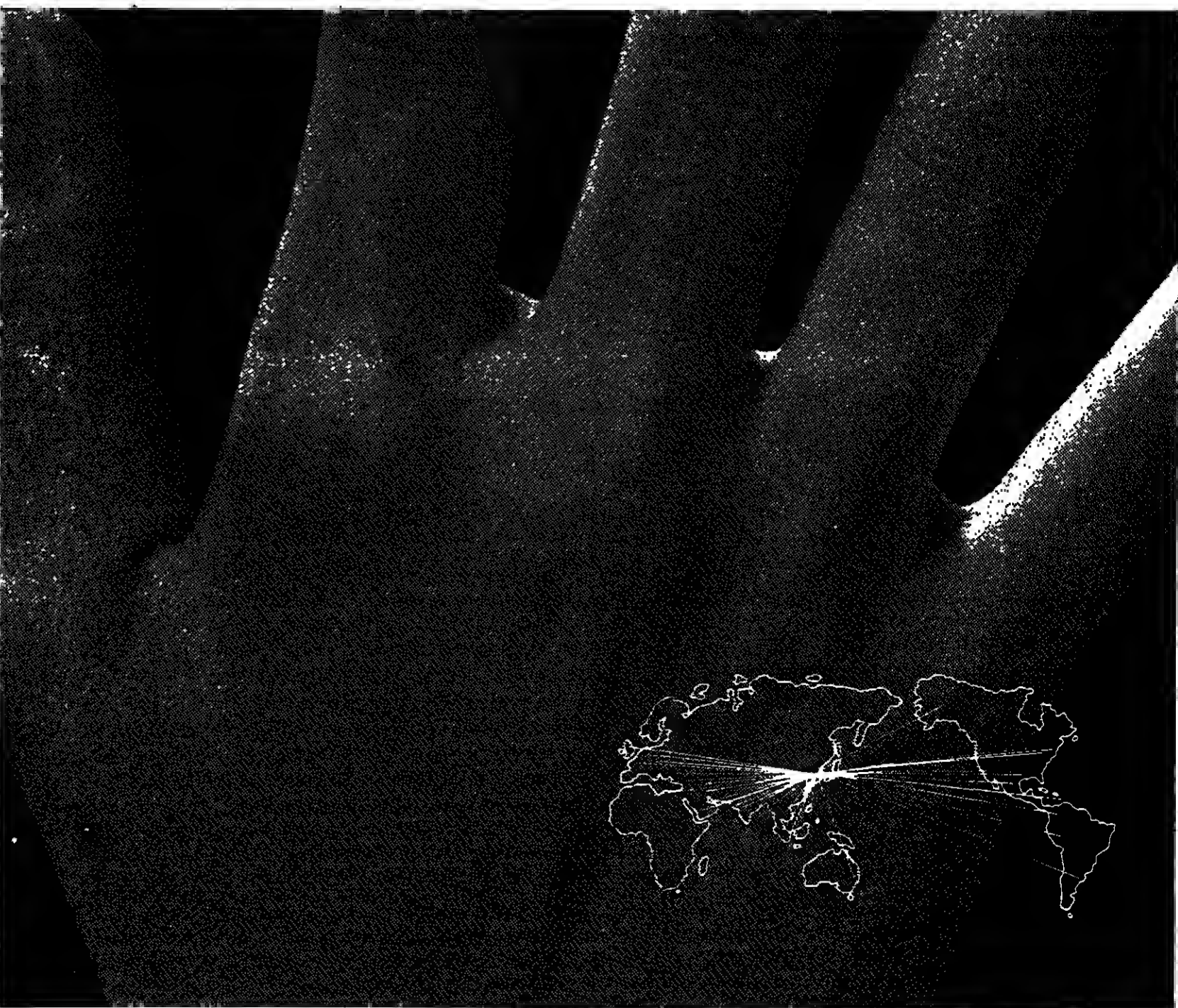
On the face of it, the unions' wage demands appear excessive. Demands for 50 percent to 80 percent increases are not uncommon. But this has to be set against a history of very low wages and a dramatic increase in the cost of living.

The consumer price index rose by 7 percent last year and is expected to rise by the same amount this year. Seoul property prices increased 30 percent over the past year. The unions estimate that the average blue-collar wage is 6,500 won (\$45) a day. According to Mr. Kamberis, 40 percent of companies pay below the minimum wage of 144,000 won per month.

Meanwhile, millions of dollars are being made on the property market and the stock exchange. So while the blue-collar worker struggles to feed and house his family, he sees the real estate sharks and the stock exchange speculators being chauffeured in imported Mercedes Benz and taking their holidays abroad.

"The government has to come up with a comprehensive policy for the redistribution of wealth," said Professor Park. "The tax system must be revised to make the rich pay and not the poor. The use of false names must be abolished. And the government must also come up with the will to enforce these laws with consistency."

LIZ MCGREGOR, a Seoul-based journalist, contributes to The Independent and the Sydney Morning Herald.

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Prostitutes, shown here in traditional dress, are often former factory workers.

## Women's Slow Progress

By Liz McGregor

**S**EOUL — The smile stays fixed on Kim Kyong Im's face as she says, "I discovered that people could be so cruel. I was so distressed, and so disappointed, to see how our society treated women."

Ms. Kim is describing her colleagues' reaction when she became Korea's first woman diplomat, in 1974. Now, she is one of four, and the head of the cultural division of the department of foreign affairs. "I had to work much harder than the men to be recognized and accepted," she says. "I let it be known to the decision-making groups that I would not be treated unfavorably."

Ms. Kim represents the new breed of Korean woman, some of whom have managed to break through the constraints of Confucian patriarchy. The family remains the cornerstone of the society; arranged marriages, often based on financial interests, account for more than half of all marriages. Women are expected to marry young, be virgin brides, and to quit work once they marry.

Progress — of a kind — is more evident among working-class women, in that an increasing number of married women are now found in the factories. "There is a shortage of labor power in the younger age bracket," said Lee Kyo Chae, a professor at the Women's Studies Institute at Seoul's Ewha University. "As a result, more married women are employed in the industrial sector." Still, many Korean companies will not hire married women, and they put pressure on female employees to resign when they marry.

According to figures released by the Economic Planning Board, the average age of the female factory worker in 1986 was 25.5, as opposed to 22.7 in 1980. This reflects the higher proportion of married women. The average age of clerical workers is 23.7, and the number of women in this sector has doubled since 1975.

"Offices have become more automated, and the work simplified and repetitive, so it is given to women," said Ms. Lee. "But the women occupy a low level of clerical job, and there is no promotion to managerial level."

For many working-class women, a job is a necessity. Many young women end up on the assembly lines of electronics and textile factories. Their bosses are male; their pay, poor. It is mostly from the ranks of factory workers that Korea's prostitutes are drawn.

Yu Bok-nim, coordinator of My Sister's Place, a counseling center for Korean women who are married to American GIs or serve them as prostitutes, estimates that there are between 800,000 and 1 million Korean women in the "service" industry. These range from outright prostitutes to bar and coffee-shop hostesses and female "barbers." A recent survey found a higher incidence of venereal disease among female barbers — about 5 percent — than among registered prostitutes.

The most common reasons for turning to prostitution, says Ms. Yu, are "unemployment, broken families and lost virginity."

The most iniquitous aspect of the prostitution trade is the human trafficking. Sex slave gangs kidnap young women off the street, subject them to brutal treatment to "tame" them, and then sell them to brothels.

"Human trafficking is the main problem we have to deal with," said Kim Yung Chung, second minister for political affairs, whose responsibilities include women's issues. Call girls, she points out, bring in foreign currency, and she says that in the 1970s the government ignored prostitution.

She is backing attempts to reform the antiquated and discriminatory Family Law, which is among the most discriminatory in Asia, according to Sonia Strawn of the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Law. For instance, the head of the household is always the oldest male. In the event of divorce, the father is automatically given custody of the children and sole ownership of immovable marital property. Adultery is a criminal offense, but if a woman sues her husband for adultery, she has to file a simultaneous suit for divorce.

"She has a tough decision to make," says Ms. Strawn, an American who has lived in Korea for 30 years. "Either she puts up with his infidelity, or she loses her children and her home."

"Women," says Kim Kyong Im, "must participate in the decision-making process."

## America's Role Now That of Scapegoat

By Peter Leyden and David Bank

**S**EOUL — There's a joke circulating here about an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a Korean. Each discovers his wife in bed with another man.

The Englishman quickly apologizes and shuts the door. The Frenchman flies into a rage and tosses the man out. The Korean rushes off and demonstrates in front of the American Embassy.

The joke picks up on a common assumption among South Koreans: that the Americans know everything going on in South Korea, that they could remedy all ills in South Korea, and that, consequently, they are somehow responsible for everything bad.

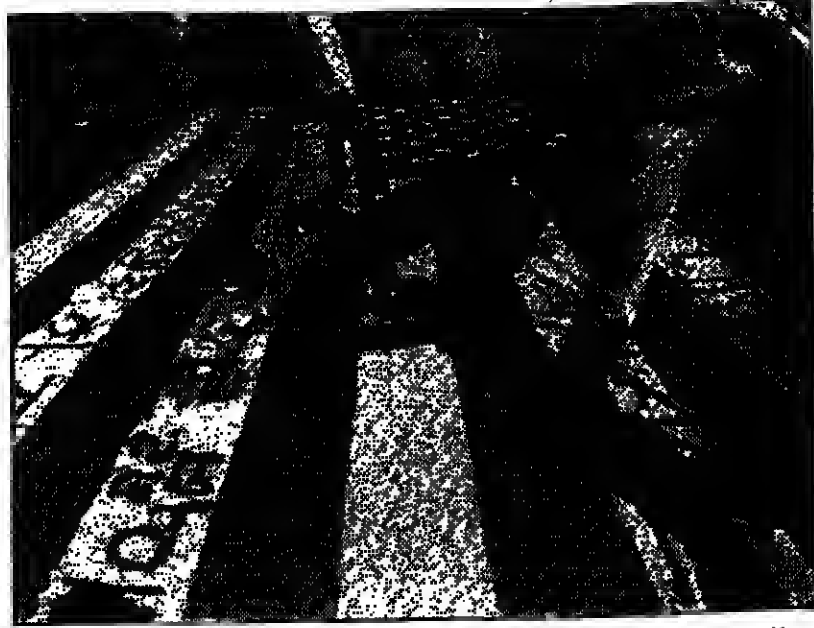
The South Korean notion of U.S. omnipotence is at the root of anti-American sentiment that recently has spread from radical students and intellectuals to many farmers and ordinary Koreans.

"The image of omnipotence is still very strong," said a Korean political scientist who has spent six years in the United States. "Even among radicals, they think that America is running everything in the country."

Anti-American sentiment essentially began with the Koreans' severe disappointment over the U.S. failure to intervene to stop Korean troops from slaughtering nearly 200 civilians in the bloody Kwangju massacre in May 1980.

Since then, many Koreans have come to believe that the Americans actually directed the massacre. Disappointment turned to outrage.

Partly to help dispel these notions, the U.S. government released on June 21 an



Protesting students walking across an American flag.

unusually detailed report on what Americans knew and what they actually did during the Kwangju uprising. U.S. officials claim the report is unprecedented in revealing the inner workings of the embassy and the State Department.

"It's a case study of the limits of what Americans can do — the limits of American omnipotence," said a Western diplomat. When the body of Lee Chol Kyn, a radical student activist, turned up in a reservoir outside Kwangju in May, radicals almost immediately turned to the United States.

When a low-level State Department official innocently said he hoped "the murderers" were caught, radicals took that not as sympathy but as proof that the Americans knew that police had murdered Mr. Lee. Prosecutors later determined that he had accidentally drowned.

Some radicals insisted that the United States had aerial photographs from spy planes that captured Mr. Lee's murder that night. They claimed the Americans must have tracked Mr. Lee by radar and known of his whereabouts through their spies. Said

a young lawyer who graduated from the prestigious Seoul National University and who worked on the case: "The American government knows everything in Korea."

The history of anti-Americanism in South Korea takes some odd turns and differs markedly from that in other countries. Before Kwangju, the ruling elite were the ones churning up the scant traces of anti-U.S. sentiment to protect their own interests. President Park Chung Hee, the South Korean dictator through the 1960s and 1970s, attacked President Jimmy Carter for challenging Seoul's human rights record.

However, South Koreans almost universally thought of the United States as a benevolent power that had been instrumental in saving them in the 1950-1953 Korean War and in rebuilding their economy.

"The point of departure for anti-Americanism was Kwangju," said Paik Young Chul, a professor of political science at Seoul's Kookmin University. "Before that, there was no such anti-Americanism."

Unlike in other countries, South Koreans resented America when it did not intervene in their affairs and stop troops from killing civilians.

At the very least, they say the United States should have strongly condemned and isolated the authoritarian government of Chun Doo Hwan rather than give legitimacy to his actions by accepting his rule.

In their report, U.S. officials say they had very limited information on events in Kwangju, they were misled by military leaders in Seoul, and they had no legal means to stop the sovereign government from using their troops to quell civil unrest.

Since 1980, and especially with the last two years of increasingly democratic freedoms, Koreans have come to see the Americans as much more interventionist in their history.

## Pressure Grows to Change Ties With U.S. Military

By Peter Leyden and David Bank

**S**EOUL — Commuters crammed into buses crossing the Tongjak bridge in morning rush-hour traffic are currently treated to the spectacle of U.S. soldiers in Bermuda shorts whacking golf balls around a spacious golf course.

The elevated bridge deadends on the edge of the huge U.S. military base in the city center and temporary exit ramps veer traffic around the base on the crowded streets below.

Perhaps no more. The bridge that was begun in the early 1980s may eventually be completed when the U.S. military turns over the golf course to the South Koreans

next year and they turn it into a public park.

"No longer do buses jammed with Koreans have to see green grass and 20 Americans and 50 rich Koreans playing golf," said a U.S. military source who asked to remain anonymous. "They have a park, and more than a park, they have a victory."

As South Korea's economy has boomed and society rapidly developed, and as national pride and anti-Americanism have spread, pressure has built on the South Korean government to change the paternalistic military relationship with the United States.

Since World War II when U.S. armed forces took over the administration of the country from the Japanese occupation forces, Americans have dominated the relationship. Since the 1950-53 Korean War, they have maintained a permanent, high-profile presence. More than 43,000 troops are stationed here.

Their spacious central base sits on some of the most valuable land in this crowded city. Their television channel is the strongest and sharpest. Americans are rarely prosecuted in Korean courts. Korean armed forces are ultimately headed by an American.

All these terms were set at least 20 years ago when South Korea was severely underdeveloped. South Koreans now want to change the inequalities — although some changes will be fraught with logistical difficulties.

"We wrote you a blank check," said a Foreign Ministry official involved in renegotiating the relationship. "Now we need some adjustments."

Since early 1988 when President Roh Tae Woo prodded high-level visiting U.S. officials, negotiations

have proceeded on several levels in four main areas:

• The U.S. Army base. The sprawling 630-acre (254-hectare) military base and housing for dependents in Yongsan district sits squarely in the geographic center of the city and takes up almost as much area as the island housing the financial district and the National Assembly.

Both sides have agreed in principle that the entire base should be moved outside Seoul by the mid-1990s. However, they have not agreed on who should pay the staggering costs of building facilities of the same caliber — including another golf course.

In May, the Korean government announced that the 18-hole golf course would be turned over to the Koreans by October 1990. Some think that will be enough to delay the entire relocation indefinitely.

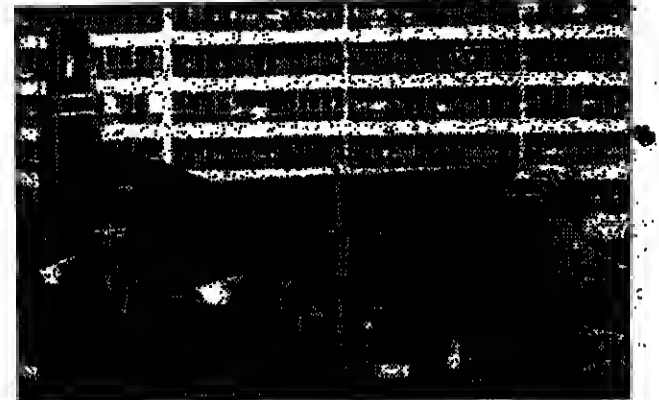
"Once the Koreans get the golf course, this is the token they need," said the U.S. military source.

• The U.S. television station. The station broadcasts throughout the peninsula and has the lowest and best frequency because it was the first.

"The Koreans are saying: 'Here's our best channel aimed at 43,000 Americans, and we have 43 million Koreans settling for second best,'" said the military source.

Koreans want the channel and they want the Americans to shift to cable television by next year. The deal has yet to be formally struck.

• The legal status of U.S. soldiers. The Americans have automatic legal jurisdiction over GIs committing crimes on U.S. bases and even outside the bases. Even



An American plane in Seoul: A new home in the offing?

with serious crimes such as murder the Koreans must inform the Americans that they will prosecute a suspect in Korean courts.

A committee of Koreans and Americans that has been working since December will soon make recommendations for change.

• Command of the Korean Armed Forces. The combined staffs of the armed forces are headed by an American four-star general. In time of war, Korean armies are ultimately controlled by an American.

A delegation of Korean military officials are expected to talk about altering this command structure when they visit Washington for annual talks this month.

All these adjustments may turn out to be short-term remedies. The U.S. Congress is raising the possibility of a gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea in the 1990s. However, both sides are committed to the current level of troops for now.

Meanwhile, the golfers are enjoying their course and seem unperturbed about the move.

"I guess I can sacrifice my golf for the Seoul citizens," said Randy Lee, a Korean-American, after he sunk his putt and climbed into his golf cart.

Besides, he said, "They promised us that they would give us a better course."

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# Dollar Sinks in European Trading

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## SPORTS

## In Defense of World Cup Realism

Fear of Soccer Violence in Italy Cannot Be Dismissed

LONDON — Hush. This is the quiet, contemplative five-hour for European soccer. The season is over, the trophies have been presented, the players are on the beaches.

It is a rare and brief respite, the last before the 1990 World Cup which — one year and three days from now — reaches its climax in Rome's majestic Olympic stadium.

Alas, another grisly news bulletin disturbs the calm.

## ROB HUGHES

It came Monday from a remote Roman cavern in which the police found the remains of a 16-year-old youth allegedly murdered seven years ago in revenge for a soccer-related hooligan killing.

Seven soccer supporters have been killed in seven years, but of course Italy is not isolated. Worldwide the sport arouses adoration and violence in near equal measures.

But in Italy next year eight million customers will pay to watch 52 World Cup games; billions will watch via television.

It will focus our hopes for a sport and our fear for human behavior. Italy will host the games, and to pretend violence will not visit it would be to adopt the philosophy of the ostrich: head in the sand.

Soccer's governing body, FIFA, does it very well. In May, Joseph Blatter, FIFA's general secretary published the following:

"No other country draws so many spectators into its stadiums as Italy. But this very country, in which football is so highly revered, has virtually no trouble with its fans. Lucky Italy! Let us all look forward to a bumper football festival!"

On a scale of blunkered officialdom, I place Herr Blatter second to Ohio's Central State University, which presented Mike Tyson with an honorary doctorate in humane letters.

Like Blatter, I believe soccer is in the Italian soul. Like Blatter, I hope the festival will overcome all evil. But we won't eradicate problems by denying their existence. We are not players who can throw off an aggressor with a stiff sidestep.

Italy's World Cup organizers are worried sick that violence might wreck the race to restructure 12 World Cup stadiums.

The promise of a safe seat under a new or refurbished roof remains the goal, but Turin, for one, is lagging behind schedule. And Luca di Montezemolo, director of Italia '90, warns that Turin, home of two famous soccer teams, will be struck off the World Cup list unless local politicians stop bickering and get building — pronto.

Genoa, has also hit a snag. It would be comic were it not so incompetent. Parts of the field were obscured from the highest seats, so the pitch was raised a meter.

Now those lower down get a poor view — so their seats, their money, must be discounted.

In Milan, Rome and Naples, soaring prices, including workers' overtime pay, will force some people out before the race is won.

Montezemolo and his boss, the minister for sport, Franco Carraro, anticipated problems. When you deal with municipal stadiums, and rely on the promises of mayors, you enter never-never land.

Italy is Italy. The national government — responsible for 3,000 billion lire (\$2.14 billion) of improve-

ments to stadiums and road, rail and air communica-

tions — fell last month.

World Cup organizers thought it might. After all, the country has had 48 governments in 45 years.

So the plans were always more grand than the expectation. Montezemolo, a realist, promises all will be well on the night.

Whether Italy, as it hoped, astounds the world in promoting tourism, beauty and commercial enterprise is another matter.

And out of the organizers' hands is the guarantee of a failsafe festival that does no harm to the ethic of soccer, and none to life and limb of all visitors.

That is not even solely an Italian question. No one knows yet, for example, the English and the Dutch, with their vicious hooligan followers, will qualify for the finals.

No one has been able to predict where and when Italy's own things strike. There is so much the predetermined mass violence of England and Holland (though Genoa suffered a sustained riot between rival supporters in May).

More sinister in Italy are the knife attacks, the assaults with iron bars and screwdrivers, the beatings that have picked off fans as young as 14.

FIFA ignores them; UEFA cannot. The European soccer authority fined the Inter Milan club \$95,000 after fans started a fire in the stands last December, and fined Napoli \$57,000 because spectators threw smoke bombs in March.

The Neoplatonists, renowned for leaving their crime outside the stadium walls, responded by firing more smoke bombs, which hampered the goalkeeper of Stuttgart in the UEFA Cup final in May.

The good news is that the Italian authorities often catch and jail the thugs. But it is no consolation to the bereaved and no comfort to those responsible for the World Cup.

FAR, FAR FROM the lull in Europe's season, South America warms up to serious play. Brazil has begun the South American Cup on its soil confidently, but another of the region's big three, Uruguay, is in abysmal form.

Uruguayan distractions include the negotiations surrounding star forward Enzo Francescoli. He, long expected to go to Italy, is now the attraction for Marseille, which has bid \$3.5 million to lure him from Racing Club de Paris.

While his mind is elsewhere, Uruguay suffers as this week's ignominious defeat to a late goal by Ecuador showed.

Europe distracts, and Italy distracts. Argentina's struggle to beat Chile by a solitary goal has roots in Naples and Milan. Not for the first time the Napoli captain, Diego Maradona, has seen to it that Inter Milan's Ramon Diaz has no role in his nation's team.

Instead, Argentina selected Hugo Maradona, sibling of the Great One. Neither Maradona saved Argentina's face against Chile; Claudio Pansigaglia did.

Caniggia might be home on permanent leave from Italy. He is unhappy about legal threats in Verona, where he played last season and where a judge has questioned him in connection with cocaine trafficking.

Drugs as well? No... no, Italy is a land where soccer is so highly revered it simply cannot be.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of the Sunday Times



Toronto's George Bell beating Rob Murphy home for the winning run after Murphy's wild pitch.

## Yankees Observe Gehrig Anniversary with a Win

The Associated Press

Don Schlube, promoted from the minors earlier in the day, pitched seven strong innings for his first major-league victory since 1987 and New York beat the Detroit Tigers 1-0 Tuesday in Yankee Stadium on the 50th anniversary of Lou Gehrig's farewell speech.

Tom Brookens, who like Schlube had played in the Detroit organiza-

tion last season, singled home the only run in the fourth.

The Tigers threatened to score in the first when Lou Whitaker bunted for a hit and moved to second on Keith Moreland's single. Fred Lynn followed with a sharp single to right field, but Jesse Barfield threw out Whitaker at the plate for his major league-leading 14th outfield assist.

The fourth of July crowd of 32,198 was boosted by brief pregame ceremonies honoring Gehrig and a postgame concert by The Beach Boys.

A film of Lou Gehrig's farewell speech was broadcast on the scoreboard, including his famous words, "Today I consider myself the luckiest man on the face of the earth."

Indians 3, White Sox 2: Luis Aguayo hit his first home run of the season and Scott Bailes won for the third time in four starts Tuesday in Cleveland.

Bailes held the White Sox scoreless on four hits until the seventh,

when Carlton Fisk hit a two-out single and Dan Pasqua followed with a two-run home run, his second in two days.

The Indians had taken a 1-0 lead in the first on an RBI double by Joe Carter, and Aguayo's two-run home run decided the game in the fifth.

Astros 10, Mets 3: Mike Scott became the major league's first 14 game-winner this season and the Astros scored eight runs in the first inning off Bob Ojeda in Houston.

Scott won for the eighth time in his last nine decisions, and it is the earliest in his career that he has won 14 games. His previous best was in 1986 when he went on to win the Cy Young Award.

Monday's Games

Pirates 4, Dodgers 2: Bobby Bonilla hit a two-run home run off Mike Morgan to give Pittsburgh a 3-0 lead in Los Angeles. The Associated Press reported earlier.

"I think it hit my truck in the parking lot," Morgan said. "I was very frustrated to make that mistake with two outs."

Morgan leads the major leagues with a 1.82 earned-run average, but his team's hitting slump has made victories elusive.

He fell to 5-8 while the Dodgers reached the halfway point at 39-42. They are in fifth place in the National League West, nine games behind San Francisco. Last year, the eventual World Series champions were 48-33 at the midway mark.



Mike Morgan: Lowest ERA.

The Dodgers lead the majors with a 2.60 ERA, but are last in baseball with a .234 batting average and just 264 runs.

Expos 3, Braves 0: Mark Langston pitched a two-hit shutout and struck out 10 in Atlanta, and Andres Galarraga hit a two-run home run in the eighth. Langston permitted only one runner to advance as far as third.

Phillies 2, Reds 1: Ken Howell allowed two hits in eight-plus innings as Philadelphia won at home before a fireworks night crowd of 56,498, the largest in the National League this season.

Mets 3, Astros 1: Tim Lincecum and Mark Carreon connected for consecutive home runs that broke a seventh-inning tie in Houston.

Brewers 6, Yankees 5: Teddy Higuera won for the 11th time in 13 career decisions against the Yankees as Milwaukee got 16 hits in an American League game in New York. The Brewers trailed 2-1 before rallying for five runs in the sixth.

Blue Jays 3, Red Sox 2: Pat Borders' run-scoring single tied the game and Rob Murphy's wild pitch allowed the go-ahead run as the Blue Jays rallied in the seventh in Cleveland.

Indians 4, White Sox 2: Joe Carter and Cory Snyder hit consecutive RBI singles as the Indians rallied for three runs in the eighth in Cleveland.

Oxley 11, Tigers 4: Mickey Tejedor hit a three-run home run and Phil Bradley drove in three runs on three hits in Baltimore as the Orioles scored at least one run in each of the first six innings.

Athletics 1, Royals 0: In Oakland, California, Dave Stewart became the American League's first 13-game winner and Dave Parker drove in the only run as the Royals won their fourth straight.

Angels 5, Rangers 2: Jim Abbott set a record for major-league victories by a first-year pro by pitching five-hit ball for eight innings in Anaheim, California. Abbott, 7-5, surpassed the previous record set in 1973 by Dick Ruthven, who was 6-9 for Philadelphia.

## BOOKS

## GOD'S DUST: A Modern Asian Journey

By Ian Buruma. 267 pages. \$18.95.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 19 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Reviewed by William Chapman

MIDWAY in his journey through Asia, Ian Buruma happens upon a satirical skit depicting a young, very modern Malaysian couple learning to cope with their new middle-class status. Their behavior is carefully modeled on that of characters who appear in television ads. They talk like people in the commercials, walk like them and seem to think like them. They have no other models. "Malaysian culture," a local playwright tells Buruma, "does not exist."

This skit expresses the theme that unites this fascinating account of life in eight Asian countries: How to retain some reservoir of national identity in a nation hell-bent on radical modernization and shattering social upheaval. It is a theme usually pursued by academic researchers concerned with "development" and inclined toward grand theories of social change. Buruma's "God's Dust: A Modern Asian Journey" introduces us to the people who are living it.

He is the best of guides — a patient interviewer who listens well and analyzes what he hears with sympathy. Buruma, a Hong Kong journalist who has written

for the Far Eastern Economic Review and other publications, knows his turf well and possesses a remarkable ear for the word or phrase which defines the Asian predicament.

His examples are vivid. In Thailand, there is the "sad lot of Pax Americana" — including the young bar dancer in Bangkok's Patpong who performs in nothing but cowboy boots. There is the Malaysian village where families disgusted with Western hedonism have retreated to Muslim fundamentalism. Heavily veiled women cook Arab dishes. ("There were about 100 families in the village, all trying to live like Arabs at the time of the Prophet.") There are the Filipinos still mired in their "adolescent state of dependence" on the United States, ever waiting for rescue by Washington. "The longing for the white messiah and the childish belief in American omnipotence — communism will never succeed, one is constantly told, 'because the Americans won't allow it' — show how thoroughly colonial Filipinos still are."

No Asians struggle more intensely with the problem of national identity than the Japanese, perhaps because no other Asian nation, except the Philippines, has been so profoundly affected by the West. American and European fads batter Tokyo as monsoons batter the southern coasts, and keeping up with these swift changes in fashions is for Tokyoites a consuming occupation. "Like Alice Through the Looking Glass," Buruma writes, "fashionable

Japanese are admonished to run faster, faster, ever faster to keep up with the outside metropolis." Intellectual fads are just as demanding, as the noted critic, Shunichi Kato, observes: "Those who run around in pursuit of the imported thoughts have had the illusion that running around is thinking."

Books of Asia like "God's Dust" — journalistic treatments of complex themes — frequently fail. Often the Asian's voice is drowned out by the authors' own run-

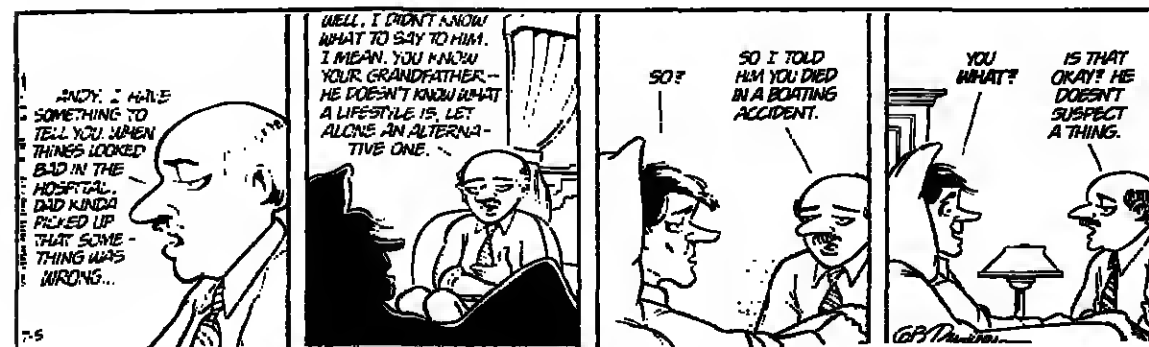
blings; what gets recorded is what Asians ought to be saying and doing. Buruma has pulled off something special — a book about Asia that Asians will recognize, often painfully, as ringing true.

William Chapman, a former Asian correspondent for The Washington Post, is the author of "Inside the Philippine Revolution." He wrote this for The Washington Post.

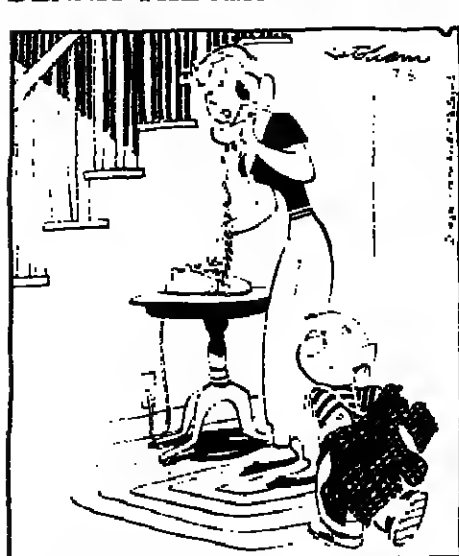
## BEST SELLERS

FICITION		NONFICITION	
This Week	1st Week	This Week	1st Week
1 THE RUSSIA HOUSE, by John le Carré	1	1 SUMMER OF '49, by David Halberstam	1
2 TALKING GOD, by Tony Hillier	2	2 ILL, I REALLY NEED TO KNOW I LEARNED IN KINDERGARTEN, by Robert Fulghum	2
3 THE NEGOTIATOR, by Frederick Forsyth	3	3 A WOMAN NAMED JACKIE, by C. David Heymann	3
4 RED PHOENIX, by Larry Bond	4	4 LOVE AND MARRIAGE, by Bill Cosby	4
5 WHILE MY PRETTY ONE SLEEPS, by Mary Higgins Clark	5	5 IT'S ALWAYS SOMETHING, by Ode Rodegno	5
6 CAPITAL CRIMES, by Lawrence Sanders	6	6 THE GOOD TIMES, by Russell Baker	6
7 THE TEMPLE OF MY FAMILIAR, by Alice Walker	7	7 PAPA, MY FATHER, by Leo Buscaglia	7
8 THE JOY LUCK CLUB, by Amy Tan	8	8 A BRIEF HISTORY OF TIME, by Stephen W. Hawking	8
9 THE SATANIC VERSES, by Salman Rushdie	9	9 THE NIGHT THE BEAR ATE GOOMBY, by Patrick F. McManus	9
10 DAY OF THE CHEETAH, by M. J. Healy	10	10 THE ANDY WARHOL DIARIES, edited by Pat Eckert	10
11 WE ARE STILL MARRIED, by Garrison Keillor	11	11 ABOUT FACE, by David H. Hackworth and Julie Sherman	11
		12 NOW THAT YOU ASKED... by Andrew A. Rooney	12
		13 YOGI: It Ain't Over... by Yogi Berra with Ben Horowitz	13
		14 DAVE BARRY SLEPT HERE, by Dave Barry	14
		15 CITIZENS, by Simon Schama	15
		ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS	
		1 WEALTH WITHOUT RISK, by Charles J. Givens	1
		2 SYMPTOMS, by Lindsey Rosenfeld	2
		3 PEACE, LOVE & HEALING, by Bernie S. Siegel	3
		4 WESTERN NIGHTS NEW COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY, (Merriam-Webster)	4
		5 THE WAY THINGS WORK, by David Macaulay	5

## DOONESBURY



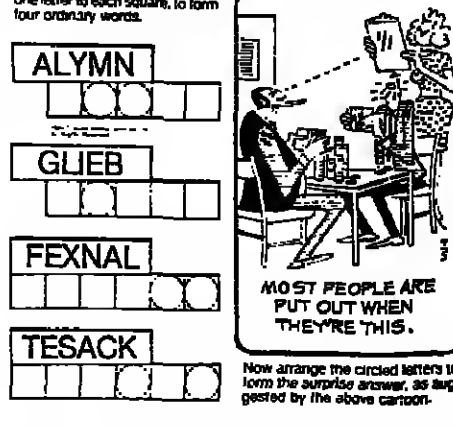
## DENNIS THE MENACE



"I've had one call for you and five calls about you!"

## JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles. One letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Print answer here: \_\_\_\_\_

Answers tomorrow

Yesterday's Jumbles: FATAL DICY INFORM PILED  
Answer: A surgeon might have to cut out something because the patient this DID NOT

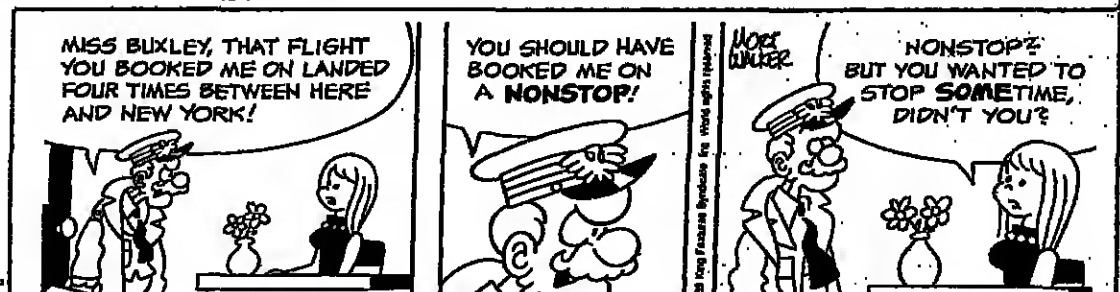
## BLONDIE



## PEANUTS



## BEETLE BAILEY



## ANDY CAPP



## WIZARD OF ID



## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD









